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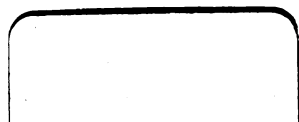
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STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 11
1913



STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE PHILOLOGICAL CLUB OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA

VOLUME XI

THE SHEPHEARDS CALENDER, II . . . *Edwin Greenlaw*

THE CELTIC ORIGIN OF THE LAY OF YONEC

. *Tom Peete Cross*

A NOTE ON PHORMIO *George Howe*

AUTHORSHIP AND INTERPRETATION OF THE

'EK THΣ MOYΣIKHΣ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ . *Wilbur High Royster*

The Collegiate Press

GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY

MENASHA, WISCONSIN

1913

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JOHNSON REPRINT CORPORATION

111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003

JOHNSON REPRINT COMPANY LTD.

Berkeley Square House, London, W. 1

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First reprinting, 1967, Johnson Reprint Corporation

Printed in the United States of America

THE SHEPHEARDS CALENDER, II.

In an article which appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* in 1911 I sought to define Chaucer's influence upon the *Shepheards Calender* and to relate the ecclesiastical eclogues to certain aspects of Spenser's thought about English politics in 1579. Certain portions of my argument have been criticised by Mr. J. J. Higginson, in a Columbia dissertation, and by Professor C. R. Baskervill in an article which appeared in the *Publications* in June of the present year. Mr. Higginson disagrees with my interpretation of February and proposes another interpretation, which has been effectually disproved by a review in the *Nation*. He also denies that Leicester had anything to do with Spenser's exile to Ireland in 1580, and here he finds support from the *Nation's* reviewer, though the reviewer does not say why he finds Mr. Higginson's argument on this point sound. Professor Baskervill expresses doubt upon the Leicester-Spenser matter, and also insists that the *Calender* was warmly received, apparently agreeing with the extravagant claims made by most critics concerning the immediate fame which came to the poet as a result of the publication. Neither the construction to be placed on February nor the question of the early fame of the *Calender* affects in any vital way the main contention of my article, but the question of the relations between Spenser and Leicester is of far-reaching importance not only with reference to *Mother Hubberds Tale* and the *Calender* but in relation to Spenser's entire life-work.

I.

The orthodox view is that by the publication of the *Shepheards Calender* Spenser became instantly famous. Grosart (I. 120) says that the "newe poet" became "famous at a bound"; Palgrave (in Grosart, IV. xxiv) says that "its position was, it appears, clearly recognized at the date of publication"; Gosse (Grosart, I. xix) speaks of it as a book "already enjoying an unparalleled success;" Hales (*Memoir* in the Globe edition) maintains that

the *Calender* "secured him at once the hearty recognition of his contemporaries"; Jusserand (*Literary History*, II. 441) says, "The publishing of the 'Calender' had made him instantly famous"; and Schelling (*English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, p. 49) adheres to the conventional view that "the poem was an immediate success, and Spenser was enthusiastically hailed as the 'new poet' in a chorus of praise." This orthodox view I deny, because neither the record of editions, nor the references to the work by contemporary critics, nor the allusions to it in poetry and drama during the years immediately following publication give any warrant for supposing that these extreme statements have any basis in fact. I believe the error is due solely to the repetition of Grosart's statements by later critics, and that Grosart's view was founded chiefly upon a misinterpretation of one of Harvey's letters to Spenser. This misinterpretation I explained in my former article (p. 422), and Professor Baskervill agrees with my view of it. (p. 305) In fact, I do not see that Professor Baskervill, in spite of his thorough search for evidence and his obvious intention to prove, if possible, that the *Calender* was warmly received, has reached a conclusion materially at variance with my own, except that he would put the date for recognition at 1586 instead of 1590. I agree at once with his conclusion (p. 312) "that the early reception of the *Calender* was not unfavorable," but this is not to admit that it was received with a chorus of praise, and that the fortunate author became famous at a bound.

My first objection to Professor Baskervill's argument is that he does not squarely meet the issue. His references to Webbe, Puttenham, Fraunce, Nash, and others all date after 1586. But even if these references indicate great popularity at a time when the tide of Elizabethan literature was beginning to gain headway, they assuredly do not sustain the orthodox view of immediate fame. It is obvious that, to prove the truth of such a view, we must have evidence concerning the seven years which intervened. There are many instances in the history of literature of works which failed to secure immediate recognition but

afterwards attained enormous popularity; why may not this have been the fate of the *Calender*? It is no answer to say that conditions were so different in the Elizabethan period that we cannot judge popularity by modern standards. In *Euphues*, published in the same year as the *Calender*, and appealing to the same audience and the same literary tastes, we have a book which became "instantly famous", and, furthermore, we have ample proofs that this was so; why do we lack similar proofs regarding the *Calender*, if its reception was, as we are told that it was, one to be described in the same terms? And even if I should admit that the absence of evidence does not prove beyond peradventure my contention, surely it does prove that we ought to stop asserting things about the early reception of the *Calender* that have no basis in fact; and surely I have the right to propose, as an explanation of the apparent failure of the poem to attract much attention for a number of years after its appearance, that certain elements in it, because of the peculiar circumstances at court in 1579-1580, may have made it unwise to circulate the book too freely, or to comment on it too openly.

Professor Baskervill's argument may be summed up under three heads: first, there is nothing significant about the anonymity of publication and the preservation of this anonymity for a decade; second, the contemporary references to the poem indicate a considerable popularity; and, third, the record of editions substantiates the same view. On the first topic he objects (pp. 291-292) to my argument that the poem did not gain early recognition because Spenser was not known as the author. Now it is perfectly true that a work may be tremendously popular and yet the authorship may remain unknown for a considerable time after its publication. The case of *Waverley* may be cited as an illustration. But it was the novel, not the author, that became instantly famous in this nineteenth century parallel; while the orthodox view about the *Calender*, as I have already shown, is that *Spenser* was at once hailed as a great poet. Moreover, we have plenty of evidence as to the enormous popularity of *Waverley*; and it is surely incumbent upon Professor Baskervill, in

order to render his objection to my argument valid, to prove by citations from the critics, the letters, and the literature of the period immediately following 1579 that the work, even though anonymous, was immediately hailed as a great poem. If he cannot do this, then my contention that outside of a very small circle the authorship was unknown; that there are reasons for believing that the secret was jealously guarded for a considerable time; and that when, after 1586, the *Calender* began to attract attention outside of the small court circle, even then men commented on the secrecy which the author's friends had observed, constitutes a valid argument.

Let us consider the case of Webbe. In the first place, it is necessary to remember that this first considerable appearance of the *Calender* in critical literature dates 1586, seven years after publication. Therefore it is at once rendered valueless as a proof of immediate recognition. My only reason for referring to it at all was to show that the anonymity of the *Calender* had been kept for considerable time, even among those who might be supposed to have been most interested in so novel and distinguished a collection of poems. Professor Baskervill gives the impression that Webbe's reference to "Master *Sp.*" is not significant because "he refers to E. K. twice and also to five poets by their initials alone." But surely there is a difference. Of "E. K." he pretty certainly had no more knowledge than the gloss supplies; and we are not certain even to-day as to his identity. And the other poets referred to by their initials, F. C., F. K., G. B., S. Y., M. D., are so styled simply because Webbe did not know their names. But of Spenser he possessed fuller knowledge because of the gloss and also because, as Professor Baskervill says, "he was an ardent admirer of the *Calender*," and had, no doubt, concluded "that the new poet is no other than Harvey's Cambridge friend Spenser." Why then did he not name him, as he named the other poets whose identity was known? Professor Baskervill says it is because "he respected the poet's anonymity enough to write merely 'Master *Sp.*'" But why does he feel the need for such caution seven years after the publication of the *Cal-*

ender? Professor Baskervill maintains that the fact that the authorship was not revealed for many years is not astonishing, because "many an anonymous Elizabethan work has never had an author's name attached to it, and yet some of the unidentified works that have come down to us were doubtless fathered by the most famous of the Elizabethans." But surely Mr. Baskervill must acknowledge the difference between anonymous works printed without authority, a common source of complaint in those days, or printed without any elaborate attempts to prevent readers from identifying the authors, and the *Calender*, where we have evidence that such precautions were taken.

Professor Baskervill attempts to explain the question of anonymity by his theory of the slowness of Spenser to appear before the public as a poet (p. 295), and by the general distrust of the poet's calling (p. 297). These explanations appear to me to be beside the mark. In the first place, we have no reason for thinking that Spenser was slow to publish through his distrust of his powers as a poet or sensitiveness to public criticism of the literary value of his work. In 1579-80 he published, or caused to be circulated in MS., his *Mother Hubberds Tale*, and also published the *Calender*. I have already called attention to the circumstance that he at first contemplated a dedication to Leicester, but changed to Sidney.¹ Thus the only question of "sensitiveness" here involved is that he was anxious not to offend Leicester, and the times were parlous. E. K.'s reference to his unwillingness to publish appears to be due either to lack of acquaintance with the facts—possibly of the game that Spenser was playing or, more probably, to an attempt to stimulate interest in his mysterious author. We have had instances in recent years precisely similar, in the publication of anonymous novels with skilfully worded hints by press agents that the author's life, if only known, would make mighty interesting reading. As soon as Spenser came to feel that he had failed to secure the preferment for which he had hoped, in the spring of 1580, he immediately announced to his

¹ "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *Pub. M. L. A.*, Sept., 1910.

friend Harvey an elaborate program for immediate publication. "My *Dreames* being growen by meanes of the Glosse full as great as my *Calender*" will soon appear; the *Dying Pelican*, (which, by the way, I cannot help associating with the *Plowman's Tale*, model, as I believe, of the ecclesiastical eclogues in the *Calender*,)² and the *Stemmata Dudleiana* are also ready for publication, though the last, he says, must be handled with caution because of "the sundry apostrophes therein, addressed you knowe to whome," another instance of his sense that caution was necessary in dealing with Leicester.³ He also says he will proceed forthwith with his *Faerie Queene*. In his reply to this letter, Harvey has sport with his friend for these ambitious literary schemes and prophesies, ironically, of the great lands and lordships which will be bought with the proceeds of their sale. But these various works did not appear, and the *Faerie Queene* rested for years, not because Spenser distrusted his powers or feared the criticisms of the learned, but because he was sent to Ireland, and his poetry had to wait until he had become adjusted to his place and reconciled to a situation which at first he fiercely resented.

The general distrust of the poet's calling, on which Professor Baskervill writes an interesting *excursus*, is evident to any student of the social and economic conditions of authors in the age of Elizabeth. It would be easy to multiply references to "the low state of poetry;" Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* is merely one of many poems in this *genre*, and Professor Baskervill has anticipated me in a field on which I have collected much material. But the only bearing, as I see it, that this matter has on the anonymous publication of the *Calender* is to confirm my contention that during this period Spenser's

² This tale deals with the enmity between the Pelican, representing the Protestant cause, and the Griffon, representing the Catholics. As to its possible influence on the *Calender*, see pp. 442-443 of my former discussion. It is easy to see what use Spenser might have made of this tale as an allegory dealing with matters in 1579-1580.

³ Globe edition, p. 709.

main reason for cultivating the muse was that he hoped by this means to secure a position at court similar to that held by Sidney. It was no unreasonable ambition. Since the execution of Norfolk the government for the first time had passed into the hands of men not of noble birth; there are many examples of men who climbed from humble ranks into positions of power. Therefore I fully believe that in 1579-1580 Spenser was anxious to become a figure at court and that his conception of the literary life was not far different from that held by Sidney and Raleigh. This may account in part for the anonymous publication of the *Calender*, but it assuredly does not contribute anything to the question we are just now discussing.

We come now to Professor Baskervill's arguments in regard to the period 1579-1586. Aside from Harvey, we have only one important witness: Sidney, in his *Defense*. The question of the temperature of Sidney's praise depends largely upon the attitude of the modern reader. Professor Baskervill cannot prove that the remark about the *Calender* indicates high praise, nor can I prove that it indicates reserve and caution. Still, one should note the relations between the two men: Spenser speaks of the intimacy which he enjoys with Sidney; both men were interested in literary matters; both of them were at this time interested in Leicester's attempts to prevent the French marriage and aided him with their pens. Furthermore, since the *Defense* is based, as Professor Baskervill observes, on classical standards and represents its author's "high ideals and fine taste, a taste trained by a real appreciation of the best that the classics had to offer," should we not expect him to praise warmly the one English work of the period that approximated his own romantic modifications of Aristotelian theory? In his *Arcadia*, written at about the same time as the *Calender* and the *Defense*, Sidney followed a pseudo-Aristotelian theory of the epic; the *Calender* is a precisely analogous modification of the classical pastoral, and is indeed nearer to Theocritus and Virgil than the *Arcadia* is to Homer and Virgil. If Sidney thought this a correct course, as his "heroic poem" proves, why should he not have welcomed in the warmest

terms the *Calender*? Further, the causes which seem to have given rise to the *Defense* should be considered. Gosson's attack was dedicated to Sidney in dignified terms with no trace of subserviency. Yet Spenser speaks of Sidney's scorn. If Sidney manifested any displeasure, it must have been after 1579, for in that year Gosson also dedicated to him his *Apologie*, which was a reply to Lodge's answer to the *School*. Now we should note that the purpose of Gosson's section on poetry was to show whereas ancient poetry tended to virtue it was not so with English poetry in 1579. "The right use of auncient poetrie," he observes, "was to han the notable exploytes of worthy captaines, the holesome counceils of good fathers and vertuous lives of predecessors set doune in numbers."⁴ This, he maintains, is not the case with our poetry at present, and it is worthy of notice that just the ideal of poetry set down by Gosson in the remark I have quoted was observed by Sidney in his *Arcadia* and by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene*. Thus, poetry is to be defended, if at all, on moral grounds, and this is precisely the position taken by Sidney in the *Defense*. If the *Defense*, then, be regarded as a reply to Gosson, and if Sidney agreed with Gosson that poetry should serve a moral end, should we not expect that he would make somewhat of the *Calender* as the best possible refutation of the idea that England had no poetry measuring up to this standard?

Apart from Harvey and Sidney there is apparently but one other critical reference to the *Calender* before Webbe, that of Fraunce in his *Lawiers Logike*. I am very sorry that in my reference to Fraunce (p. 421) I failed to note that though published in 1588, it had been written in 1581. I must therefore surrender, on this point, to Professor Baskervill. I admit, also, the truth of his contention that the paucity of criticism during this period is not remarkable, since English criticism was still in its infancy. We must therefore depend upon the testimony of other forms of literature. Here Professor Baskervill introduces a conjecture that Peele imitated the *Calender* in an episode in his

⁴ ed. Arber p. 15.

Arraignment of Paris, written about 1581. The four shepherds bear the names Colin, Hobbinol, Thenot, and Diggon, and their part is to show the unfortunate love of Colin for Thestylis, and his death. This seems plausible, but I am not certain that the reference is to the *Calender*. The names Colin and Diggon are by no means peculiar to Spenser, and the use of such English names would fit Peele's manner without necessarily involving imitation of Spenser. Later, of course, when the "case" of Colin and Rosalind, like that of Astrophel and Stella, had become conventional, there could be no doubt as to the meaning of such a reference. Moreover, if Peele intended to imitate Spenser, it seems odd that he should have used the name Thestylis instead of Rosalind, as the rules required him to do. Furthermore, he sins against the pastoral convention if he means to identify his shepherds with Spenser's, in that he makes Colin die of love. The germ of the story, the death of a shepherd for love, is closely parallel to Googe's second eclogue and also suggests two lyrics in Tottel's *Miscellany*.⁵ Except for the correspondence in names, therefore, Peele's story would suggest these earlier pastorals rather than Spenser; in Spenser's time it was not good form, as a rule, for a lover to die for love, however much he might talk about it. But even if we admit this solitary instance as an imitation, or even a reference to the *Calender*, we are still very far short of finding literary evidence that the poem brought immediate fame to its author.

The last argument refers to the record of editions, in these modern days of the six best sellers the surest test of fame. Professor Baskervill insists that the record made by the *Calender* proves a considerable reputation. Granting that the first edition was disposed of before the transference of publishing rights from Singleton to Harrison in 1581, we have three editions prior to the publication of the *Faerie Queene*: 1579, 1581, 1586. The next edition dates 1591. As to the value of this evidence, it is surely fair to consider the records made by several works of

⁵ ed. Arber, pp. 138, 165. The second is the complaint of Thestylis, who is, however, a man. See also Theocritus, i and xxiii.

somewhat similar appeal, an appeal to the cultivated classes. Tottel's *Miscellany* was issued at a time much less favorable to the reception of poetry than the period we are considering, yet the editions date 5 June, 1557; 31 July, 1557 (this edition being largely augmented); 1559; 1565; 1567; 1574; 1585; 1587. Thus there were five editions in ten years and eight before the *Faerie Queene*, while in 1585 the book was apparently selling better than the *Calender*. The *Mirroure for Magistrates*, published in 1559, went into its second edition in 1563 and later editions date 1571, 1574, 1575, 1578, or four editions during the decade at the end of which the *Calender* appeared. The *Paradise of Dainty Devises* had a record of four editions in five years: 1576, 1577, 1578, 1580! But the best method of arriving at an idea of the circulation of the *Calender*, if it enjoyed the instant and overwhelming popularity which we are asked to believe it had, is to compare it with *Euphues*, which was published in the same year and was addressed to the same audience. Here the record shows two editions for 1579, a third in 1580, a fourth in 1581, and the fifth in 1585! Therefore the appeal to the record of editions, on which Professor Baskervill lays stress as proving that its fame was "exceptionally great," proves, on the contrary, that the circulation of the *Calender* was distinctly below the average.

It seems to me, therefore, that Professor Baskervill has not proved his case. He has not found evidence in either the critical works or the letters and pamphlets; he has not cited illustrations from poetry or the drama sufficient to prove that the early reception of the *Calender* was what we have long been told that it was. His argument from the record of editions is valueless, because, while it does indicate some popularity, yet the early circulation of the poem was undeniably much below that of *Euphues*, *The Paradise of Dainty Devises*, and other works which circulated among the same readers. It is no answer to say that our sources of information for the period are limited; we are concerned merely with the indisputable fact that we have evidence as to the surpassing popularity of other books, while for the *Calender* we have no such evidence as would warrant such extreme statements as I have quoted in illustration of the

orthodox view. Professor Baskervill's paper, then, far from controverting my original view, seems to me to have sustained it, because he has made a careful search supplementary to my own, yet has added little of importance to the illustrations cited in my original discussion. As to the period from 1586 to 1590, though Professor Baskervill has found no new records, it is perhaps open to question whether the publication of the *Faerie Queene* had so large a part in making the earlier work more famous as I was at first inclined to believe. Nevertheless, we have evidence that various people knew that Spenser was at work upon an ambitious poem,⁶ and some people seem to have got the idea, about the time the *Faerie Queene* appeared, that Spenser was a man of great influence at court. For example, Watson in his *Meliboëus* (1590), which was a pastoral eclogue upon the death of Walsingham, shows considerable knowledge of the men powerful at court, and asks Spenser to celebrate the virtues of Walsingham and to assure the queen that many strong and wise counsellors remain.⁷ I do not wish to press this point unduly, yet it seems safe to say that since, after 1586, Spenser was known to be on the point of publishing a very ambitious poem, since this poem was already in circulation in manuscript and was, no doubt, talked about by men who had not seen it, and since he had, at least by 1590, some reputation as a man of influence at court, there is some reason for thinking that the fame of the *Calender* was measurably increased thereby.

⁶ Fraunce, in his *Arcadian Rhetoric*, 1588, has a quotation from *F. Q.*, II. iv. (See Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I. 305). See also Bryskett, *Discourse of Civil Life*, for an account of a meeting in 1584 at Dublin at which Spenser announced that he was at work upon a poem about the moral virtues, to be called the *Faerie Queene*.

⁷ ed. Arber, p. 173. Watson addresses Spenser as follows:

Therefore in fulness of thy duties love,
calme thou the tempest of Dianaes brest,
While shee for Meliboëus late remove
afflicts hir mind with ouerlong unrest.
Tell hir forthwith (for well shee likes thy vaine)
that though great Meliboëus be awaie:
Yet like to him there manie still remaine,
which will uphold hir cuntrye from decaie.

II

I come now to a reconsideration of the question of Spenser's relations with Leicester in 1579 and 1580. On this Professor Baskervill has some remarks which indicate doubt as to whether Spenser took a very active part in politics (pp. 294-295 and note). This doubt, if I interpret the passage correctly, comes from two sources: the presence of Spenser at court after the assumption of the name "Immerito," as indicated by one of Harvey's letters,⁸ and his feeling that Spenser was "sincere and highminded", and may have been slandered. As to the first of these points, there is no occasion whatever for any doubt. I did not cite the letter in my former article because it has no special bearing either on Spenser's political position or on the early fame of the *Calender*. If Professor Baskervill had read the letter through, he would have seen that Harvey is merely introducing a quotation from Spenser's letter of October 5 in which he spoke of being in "sum use of familiaritye" with Sidney and Dyer. Spenser's letter is signed "Immerito," and it was of course written at the very time when his hopes of being advanced by Leicester were at the highest point; it is this letter that speaks of his mission for the Earl. Harvey's letter is not dated, but it must have been written soon after October fifth, for he speaks of Spenser's letter as "lately receyuid." Professor Baskervill is therefore quite mistaken in thinking that it raises any question about Spenser's continuing at court after his trouble with Leicester; the trouble had not yet begun. The name "Immerito" pretty certainly refers to the Rosalind affair, as Grosart conjectures, and the "secrette not to be reuealid" is that romance. As to Spenser's highmindedness, that is the very characteristic of him that I have stressed throughout my series of articles upon his political interests. His expressions about slander, to which Professor Baskervill refers, can be duplicated many times over in the dedications and prefaces of the

⁸ Mr. Baskervill quotes: "I take occasion to shewe you a peece of a letter that I lately receyuid from the Courte written by a frende of mine, that since a certayn chaunce befallen unto him, a secrette not to be reuealid, calleth himself Immerito."

period, and such precautions were necessary if one was to escape the fate of Stubbes. If Professor Baskervill thinks that these disclaimers by Spenser mean that he disavowed all reference to political matters in the *Faerie Queene* and elsewhere, he is surely wrong. The very presence of such disclaimers, in Spenser and other writers, is certain indication that more is meant than meets the ear.⁹

Mr. J. J. Higginson, while accepting my exposition of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, maintains that Leicester had nothing to do with Spenser's being sent to Ireland. Now the question of Leicester's part in the appointment of Spenser as secretary to Lord Grey does not necessarily involve the contention that he actually had this particular appointment made. The facts are simply that Spenser had great hopes of going to the continent on Leicester's business and was so full of this new importance that he wrote Harvey that he had no time to think of such toys as poetry; that these hopes suddenly fell through because Leicester set him adrift, and that Leicester's own position was precarious through all these months; that Spenser held the earl responsible for his exile in Ireland or for some other injury closely related thereto, and appealed to him, in *Virgils Gnat*, to right the injury. My exposition of *Mother Hubberds Tale*, if it be accepted, and the fact that Spenser got into trouble about the *Tale* combine to strengthen the contention that the *Gnat* refers to Leicester's ingratitude for the service done him. It is practically certain, from the evidence of the *Gnat* alone, that this injury is Spenser's exile

* If he means that Spenser thought that his *purposes* were misunderstood, he is on safe ground. I do not see how Professor Baskervill can use the term "guilt" in reference to Spenser's position about the French marriage in *Mother Hubberds Tale*, the warnings of the *Calender*, or the political allegory of the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*. As to the sonnet prefixed to *Virgils Gnat*, in which Spenser declares that he has been wronged, the correct interpretation is that Spenser was suffering exile for doing what Leicester encouraged him to do, perhaps ordered him to do. Compare my proof, given below, that Leicester ordered Sidney to write the letter to the Queen.

in Ireland.¹⁰ Yet Mr. Higginson, while accepting, if I interpret him correctly, every other point in this chain of evidence, seeks to prove that Leicester had nothing to do with this exile. The question as to whether Leicester actually made the appointment, I repeat, has nothing to do with the fundamental fact that Spenser held him responsible for it; if Leicester got the Sidneys to do it, or Grey, or Burghley, or if he "slandered" Spenser to Burghley, it makes no difference as to the ultimate responsibility.

Now let us examine Mr. Higginson's argument. In the first place, it is inconsistent. For example, at one point (p. 256) he argues that the relations between Sidney and Spenser have been exaggerated by "imaginative writers in conjuring up their charming pictures of friendly intimacy;" yet the conclusion of his argument that Leicester had nothing to do with Spenser's exile is that it was a good job secured for him by the Sidneys. "It is pleasant to think," he says, forgetting his earlier strictures upon imaginative writers, "that he (*sc.* Philip) endeavored to assist Spenser . . . it is hard to believe that he followed the footsteps of his uncle in turning adrift the young poet in whom he had taken a keen interest." (p. 332). And on the next page he continues to exercise his imagination in conjuring up pleasant pictures, in order to make sure that Leicester was not responsible, by suggesting that perhaps the real solution is that Grey was interested in Cambridge and poets and so took Spenser away with him. Furthermore, Mr. Higginson's argument is inconsistent on logical grounds. For if Leicester, being reconciled to the Queen

¹⁰ Professor Baskervill (p. 293) argues that the Irish place was a good one. So it was, if one wanted that kind of a place. Spenser didn't, or at least he complained bitterly when he found he was to be kept there. Passing by all other references, the passage in the *Gnat* alone is clear enough to prove that it was this one thing that he blamed Leicester for. See "Spenser and Leicester," *Pub. M. L. A.*, Sept. 1910, pp. 557-558; and, for further discussion of the question of Spenser's attitude toward Ireland, *Modern Philology*, Jan. 1912, pp. 348-350. Additional evidence, if needed, can be found in the attitude which Grey, Sir Henry Sidney, Essex, and others took toward Ireland as a place for Englishmen to inhabit under existing circumstances.

months before Spenser was sent to Ireland, could therefore have saved him, why did he not save Sidney, who languished through the same summer because of the letter which, on Leicester's orders, he had written to the Queen? Or, if the Queen's love for Leicester, or the subtle game she was playing, led her to forgive him or to seem to do so, how have we any right to presume that she or Burghley would forgive the extremely pointed satire of *Mother Hubberds Tale*? There is plenty of evidence that she was particularly sensitive to attacks on Simier and Alençon, and that she made her anger felt whenever they were endangered. This comes out not only in her letters and reports of conversations, but indirectly in the letters which Simier wrote her. Even, therefore, if Mr. Higginson were able to prove that Leicester made up with the Queen early in 1580, he has no proof that the earl could have saved the poet. Finally, was Spenser *important* enough to be "saved"?

If we turn, now, to Mr. Higginson's positive evidence in the matter we find that it is based upon a letter dated April 14, 1580, which stated that Leicester and the Queen had a conference about the Spanish affair (p. 324); upon the fact that a letter was sent from Paris to Leicester for delivery to the Queen; and upon the assertion that by June Walsingham's policy was again in favor. But this argument is unsatisfactory because of its slightness, its omissions, and its "misconception of historical fact." It is surely scanty proof to say that the Queen and Leicester had a conference, for no one has maintained that the insecure position of the earl in 1580 involved a complete rupture. Both of them were too good politicians for that, and though on at least two occasions (in 1579, when Simier disclosed the fact of Leicester's secret marriage, and again in 1581, when the quarrel between Leicester and Sussex reached its climax) she forbade him, temporarily, her presence, there is no reason to believe that Leicester did not see her frequently, to be smiled upon or berated, as her humor for the day dictated. Therefore there is no significance whatever in Mr. Higginson's "conference" or in his discovery that a letter was sent to the earl to be delivered to Elizabeth. Indeed, I will

make Mr. Higginson a present of a piece of similar "evidence" which he has overlooked: a statement by Spenser, in a letter to Harvey dated April, 1580, that "Little newes is here stirred (i. e. in London) but that olde greate matter still depending. His Honoure never better." (Globe edition, p. 708). Now "that olde greate matter" assuredly means the French marriage, and the reference proves Spenser's familiarity with the course of events, while "His Honoure" is Spenser's regular term for Leicester in his letters to Harvey, and so here Mr. Higginson may have additional proof that Leicester survived the anger of the Queen about his marriage and returned to his scheming.¹¹ But even this present to Mr. Higginson, though it is better than any of the evidence that he submits, will not prove his case. Now as to the omission. Mr. Higginson forgets to mention the fact, cited in my article on *Mother Hubbard's Tale*,¹² that Leicester's letter to Burghley, 20 July, 1580, complains of the Queen's coldness to him; he has found less of her wonted favors, and he complains also that she used "very hard terms" to him. Thus, if Mr. Higginson proves a reconciliation in April, I prove that they were on bad terms in July, about the time that Spenser was appointed to Grey's service.

Now the difficulty with Mr. Higginson's theory is simply that

¹¹ The reference also indicates that so late as April Spenser was at least informed as to doings at court and that he was following closely and probably with inside information the development of the matter of the French marriage. I am pretty sure, therefore, that *Hubberd* belongs to the early part of 1580, and that it appeared, with Sidney's letter, as a part of the earl's plan to stop the marriage. It therefore follows the *Calender*, and the rupture with Leicester took place in the spring of 1580. Or, if circulated in the autumn of 1579, Spenser's trouble did not immediately follow but was the result of the Queen's accumulated anger over similar attacks on the marriage.

¹² Mr. Higginson should not have omitted this reference, in as much as it is given in the very part of my argument which he is endeavoring to refute. I call attention also to the fact that the interview between Leicester and the Queen, which he makes his main argument in behalf of a reconciliation theory, is discussed by me on p. 555, where I give more details of the incident than Mr. Higginson supplies.

he totally fails to understand Leicester's course. Burghley openly favored the marriage, partly for reasons of state and partly because he saw in it the surest way to humble his powerful rival. Thus he had the upper hand, for though the marriage meant ruin to Leicester, the earl dared not oppose it openly. Therefore, excepting on one or two occasions when his jealousy got the better of his prudence, he outwardly favored the marriage. But at the same time he did everything in his power to stir opposition, carefully concealing his own hand. There is proof that he ordered Sidney to write his famous remonstrance, which was presented to the Queen early in 1580 and called forth the severest displeasure. This proof is found in a letter from Languet to Sidney, dated 22 October, 1580:

"Your letter was on many accounts most delightful to me, but especially because I learn from it that you have come forth from that hiding place of yours into open day. . . . I am glad you have told me how your letter about the Duke of Anjou has come to the knowledge of so many persons; for it was supposed before, that you had made it known to show that you despised him, and cared nothing for his dislike; which appeared to me by no means a safe proceeding, and inconsistent besides with your natural modesty. And therefore I suspected that you had been urged to write by persons who either did not know into what peril they were thrusting you, or did not care for your danger provided they effected their own object. Since, however, you were ordered to write as you did by those whom you were bound to obey, no fair-judging man can blame you for putting forward freely what you thought good for your country."

Pears, *Correspondence*, p. 187.

This letter is of the highest importance in aiding us to understand Leicester's methods. The first sentence refers to the exile into which Sidney found it politic to go when the Queen's anger was hottest. The remainder shows, first, that Leicester *ordered* Sidney to write, for no other interpretation of Languet's words is possible. Not less important is the testimony that the letter, though ostensibly a private protest from Philip to the Queen, was in reality widely circulated, and that Sidney was not responsible for the circulation. Who was? Finally, we have added testimony that the game was a dangerous one. Other evidence of Leicester's method is not lacking. In 1575 he ordered Gascoigne

to write a masque the object of which was to prove to the Queen the advantage of marrying Leicester. He also caused letters to be written to him, which he "circulated" as he circulated Sidney's letter to the Queen.¹³ We know also that he wrote to Burghley about the extreme joy of the Papists over the prospect of the marriage, while he protested that he was himself in favor of the match notwithstanding.¹⁴ So much for the method which he used for keeping the storm of objections that assailed the Queen at the boiling point while he tried to insure his own safety by his professions of favor, and, we have reason to believe, by unscrupulous disavowals of guilty knowledge when things got too hot. Such disavowals sent Sidney into retirement and sent Spenser to Ireland.

That Leicester made use of this method in 1580 is certain; the question that remains is as to whether he was suspected. On this point, also, there is satisfactory evidence. Besides the proofs I have already given of the dangerous ground on which he was treading in 1580,¹⁵ a consideration of Burghley's six page letter to the Queen, dated 28 January, 1579/80, is important. At this moment the marriage was apparently "off"; the wily Lord Chancellor enlarges at great length on his own disappointment; he himself had favored it above all other remedies proposed for the embarrassment of the Queen and the realm. But since it is not to be, he goes on to enumerate the perils consequent on the failure, such as the alliance of Alençon with Spain by marriage; the immediate prospect that all the Catholic princes would unite against England; the stirring up of rebellion fomented by foreign powers in Ireland and England, which would lead to the attempt to put Mary of Scotland on the English throne, and, as the climax most artfully chosen to terrify a sovereign who hated nothing so much as expense, the enormous cost of meeting these combined

¹³ See, for instance, the letter of Sir Francis Knollys, June, 1580, in *Calendar Domestic*, I. 658, on the triumph of the Catholics plotted out by the serpentine subtlety of Catherine.

¹⁴ Nares, III. 115-116.

¹⁵ *Pub. M. L. A.*, Sept. 1910, pp. 555-556.

perils. He closes by saying that his remedies, costly as they are, are but "shews of remedies, whereas her marriage, if she had liked it, might have provided her more surely with less peril."¹⁶ The cleverness of this letter consists in the way it must have thrown the blame on Leicester for the failure of this most desirable remedy, without openly accusing him, and of the artful plea for a renewal of the negotiations, in which Burghley was immediately successful. Another indication of the position of Leicester in 1580 is furnished by the letter from Burghley to Sussex in which the chancellor tells of a conference between the Queen, several counsellors, including Leicester, and Condé; Burghley found the door closed on him; he expresses no resentment about this, but contrives at once to throw the blame on Leicester for trying to break the match and to inflame Sussex to fury. In the conclusion he writes, "I wish her Majesty may spend some portion to solicit for them (*sc.* the party represented by Condé) some peace to the good of the cause of religion, but to enter into a war, and therewith to break the marriage, and so to be left alone, as subject to the burden of such a war, I think no good councillor can allow."¹⁷ Thus Sussex became the implacable enemy of Leicester, the quarrel between them reaching a climax in July of the following year. It is therefore clear that while Leicester and the Queen were outwardly on good terms in the summer of 1580, the enemies of the earl found their cue in putting on him the blame for the opposition to the marriage. And the complete interpretation of Leicester's history during this year is that though compelled to favor the match outwardly, he really had been conducting a secret campaign against it; his true sentiments were either known or guessed, and Burghley and Sussex united in casting on him the blame for the opposition. It will also be remembered that it was during this summer that Elizabeth was most madly infatuated with her ape and her frog and that her correspondence with them was incessant. Thus the tight place in which Leicester found

¹⁶ A full abstract of this letter is in *Hatfield House*, pt. II., pp. 308-310.

¹⁷ Nares, III, 126-127; *Hatfield House*, II, 329.

himself, and which he shows that he felt in his ingratiating letters to Burghley and the sacrifice of a fine hound, consisted not in sequestration from court but in the detection of his insincerity. His secret campaign had reached a climax in Sidney's letter and Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*. Sidney was in such grave danger of his life that he fled from the court; Spenser, deserted by the man he tried to save, was sent to Ireland. For Mr. Higginson to base an argument that Leicester was reconciled with the Queen and therefore could have saved Spenser upon such flimsy evidence as a record of an interview, and upon the record that a letter was sent to the earl to be given by him to the Queen, is a signal instance both of a "misconception of historical fact" and of a "method of selecting, and tendency to dwell on, only those points which happen to suit his own theory."

Mr. Higginson does me the honor of devoting his appendix to an attempt to discredit my interpretation of "February." As his own interpretation has been discredited and as there is, with a single exception, nothing in his objections worth replying to, I shall not enter into a detailed defense of my interpretation. His objection that the Jesuit danger did not come upon England until 1580 is a mere quibble, and he knows it. While it is true that Campion did not reach England until August, 1580, the evidence is overwhelming that from the foundation of the college at Douai in 1568 England was supplied with missionaries whose purpose was not only to make converts but to teach disloyalty. There is no need of citing proofs, for even elementary histories of the period give full evidence. The letter of Sanders to Allen, Nov. 6, 1577,¹⁸ which maintains that the "state of Christendom dependeth on the stout assailing of England" sufficiently explains the Catholic view. But the assertion of Mr. Higginson (p. 345) that English statesmen were ignorant of the peril before 1580 is untrue. Mendoza wrote, 28 December, 1579, that during that year a hundred seminary priests had come to England where they converted many to the Roman faith;¹⁹ does Mr. Higginson

¹⁸ *Calendar Domestic*, 1547-1580, 565.

¹⁹ Cited by Pollard, 372.

imagine that Mendoza was the only man in London who knew this? Out of many incidents proving that the anti-national spirit of the propaganda was well understood I select two. The first is the case of Cuthbert Mayne, an Oxford man who went to Douai in 1573 and returned to England three years later fortified not only by his Douai training but by a "retreat" with the Jesuits. He lived as a steward with a young landowner in Cornwall. Since Mayne was not the only priest working in this fashion the government determined upon repression, an example being made of this man. He was tried for treason and condemned, but the execution was delayed for some time in order to establish, if possible, his loyalty to the government. This he failed to make clear, saying, on the contrary, that though he professed civil obedience and loyalty to the crown for the present, he held himself free, if called upon, to aid any invaders who might come to recover the country to the papal obedience. The fate of Mayne was widely published in order to terrify others, but the effect was to increase, rather than to allay the infection.²⁰ Now it is the work of just such men as this that Spenser has in mind. The other instance proving that these matters were well known is the letter of Burghley to the Queen, 28 January, 1579/80, in which he speaks of the threatened danger to England from a coalition of Catholic powers to stir up rebellion in Ireland and disaffection in England, the purpose being to place Mary of Scotland on the English throne.²¹ This is not a mere hypothesis, but rather a summary of existing conditions, which Burghley professed to think would be ended at once by the French marriage. Now the point which Mr. Higginson fails to grasp is that Spenser's warning in the *Calender* was due not to his sympathy with Puritan doctrines but to his knowledge that these seminary priests, under their disguises as workingmen, preached treason. Spenser was not a Puritan in the doctrinal sense. His Puritanism was political. This is proved not only by his hostility to extreme Puritan doctrine as expressed repeatedly in his works, but also by his strong

²⁰ A full account is in Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, pp. 210-213.

²¹ *Hatfield House*, II. 308-310.

leanings toward form and ceremony in religious observance and, in his later works, his tendency to mysticism.²² We have only to think of Elissa, Hudibras, the "ungracious crew," perhaps also the Blatant Beast, certainly his remarks about the Puritans in his tract on Ireland, to be convinced that he was no such fierce Puritan as Mr. Higginson imagines. Thus, Mr. Higginson's complaints about the vagueness of my identification of the oak with the old religion are beside the mark. As a matter of fact, the fall of Catholicism in England was often compared to the fall of a great tree, or reformers were urged to cut down the tree of Catholicism. Three instances will illustrate this point. Knox, describing the effect of his preaching in Scotland, writes: "Some said, 'Others hewed at the braunches of Papistry, but he striketh at the root to destroy the whole!'"²³ The second is from a document sent to Elizabeth by a congregation of twenty-seven members of a separatist faction, which prays the Queen "to rule & reforme all estates and degrees of men, to build and plante his holy sygnes and true markes, to cut downe, to roote out, and utterly destroy by the axe of the same his holy word, all monuments of Idolatry, to wit, that wicked canon law, which is the only roote, out of the whiche these abhominable braunches do growe, as forked cappes, & tipets, surplices, starch capes, etc."²⁴ The third example is supplied by Spenser himself. In his account, in the eighth canto of the second book of the *Faerie Queene*, of the destruction of Orgoglio, representing the carnal pride or temporal power of Rome, he says that the effect of Arthur's stroke was so deadly that the giant fell,

"As an aged tree,

High growing on the top of rocky clift,
Whose hartstrings with keene steele nigh hewen be;
The mightie trunck, halfe rent with ragged rift,
Doth roll adowne the rocks, and fall with fearefull drift."

²² Compare the vivid account of Sapience in the fourth hymn, based on the Catholic worship of the Virgin.

²³ Cited by Morley, *English Writers*, VIII. 135.

²⁴ State Papers Domestic Eliz. Addend. xx, labelled "B. of London, Puritans."

Of the other portions of Mr. Higginson's book I have nothing to say at present. The best possible refutation of a considerable part of the book is the very complexity of it. In his anxiety to avoid "examining them (*sc.* the eclogues) in a purely literary way," as his predecessors have done, "and thus arriving at haphazard guesses concerning their meaning," he has explained painfully and with great literalness every proper name, aspect of nature, and dog. But the result of this elaborate identification is that if we should adopt Mr. Higginson's views, the *Calender* becomes not a collection of poems but a literary mosaic. We cannot conceive of Spenser's deliberately raking in every man in any way connected with dissent and making him fit into a literary puzzle. Cotton Mather might have attempted such a thing, or some other extreme and unpoetical Puritan, but if Spenser had tried it we should not have a poem of the high quality that he has made it. Some of the identifications cited by Mr. Higginson are indubitably right; others are demonstrably false, while a considerable number are such that neither the correctness nor the incorrectness of his guesses can be proved this side Jordan. One needs a personal interview with the poet to clear the thing up. Furthermore, Mr. Higginson ought to know enough about Spenser's methods to know that he rarely works out an allegory to the minutest details. Only in the passages in the *Faerie Queene* which are occupied with purely moral allegory is he so literal as Mr. Higginson would have us believe is the case with the *Calender*, while the great epic, like his other works, is filled with examples of the changes which he made and the neglect of biographical and historical accuracy in details. It is part of his method; it saved him from being a slave to his allegory; it left him free to use his imagination and to give variety; it also enabled him to conceal his intent at least sufficiently to avoid danger. Therefore it is the very complexity and literalness, and, I may add, the lack of humor with which Mr. Higginson pursues his quest that defeats his purpose. He might well have taken as the motto for his book the emblem of Diggon, *Inopem me copia fecit*.

EDWIN GREENLAW.

THE CELTIC ORIGIN OF THE LAY OF YONEC.¹

The lay of *Yonec*, attributed to Marie de France, was written during the second half of the twelfth century.² The story may be briefly summarized as follows:

A rich old man, "avuez" of Caruënt and lord of the surrounding country, marries a beautiful lady of high estate. Out of jealousy he confines her in a tower, and sets his sister, an old widow, "pur li tenir plus en justise" (v. 36). For seven years he waits in vain for an heir.

One day while the wife is bemoaning her fate and wishing for a lover, a large hawk enters the window of her prison, and alighting before her becomes a handsome knight. He tells her that he has long loved her, and her alone, but that he could not have come unless she had desired him. In order to prove that he is not an evil spirit he assumes the lady's form and takes the sacrament. He then becomes her lover and promises to be with her whenever she desires, but predicts that if their love is discovered, he must die. He then departs as he came. His name is Muldumarec.

The lover continues to visit the lady until the two are discovered together by the old woman. The latter reports the matter to the husband, who has sharp, forked irons fixed in the window. By these Muldumarec on his next visit is mortally wounded. On entering the room he reminds his mistress of his prediction regarding the fatal outcome of their love, but comforts her with the assurance that she will bear a son who will be "pruz e vaillant" (v. 332) and will avenge his father's death. The child shall be called Yonec. Muldumarec now departs.

After the disappearance of the bird-man the lady jumps from

¹ This study in a more extended form appeared in 1910 in the *Revue Celtique*, XXXI, p. 413 ff.

² The poem has been edited by Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I, Paris, 1819, p. 272 ff., and by Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, [first edn., 1885], 2d. edn., Halle, 1900, p. 123 ff. The following discussion is based on the text of the latest edition.

a window twenty feet above the ground. Following her lover by the blood-stains, she passes through an entrance in a hill-side, and emerges "en un mult bel pre" (v. 360), where she sees a beautiful city. She enters, but, finding no one inside, she goes into the palace, where she discovers her dying lover reclining on a gorgeous bed in a chamber illuminated by candles and chandeliers which burn day and night.

Muldumarec gives the lady a ring which will cause her husband to forget her short-comings, and entrusts her with a sword which she is to bestow upon no one but their son. When the child shall have attained to manhood, she is to accompany him and her husband to "une feste u ele irra" (v. 431).

"En une abeïe vendrunt;
par une tombe qu'il verrunt
orrunt renover sa mort." (v. 433 ff.)

On this occasion the son is to receive the sword. Having received these instructions, the lady departs with the sword and ring, and returns home as she came, on the way hearing the bells of the city toll for her lover's death.

Muldumarec's prediction is fulfilled. The son is born, and in due time is dubbed knight. In company with his mother and her husband he at length sets out to attend the feast of St. Aaron at Caerleon. On the journey the three are guided to an exceedingly fair castle.

"Une abeïe aveit dedenz
de mult religiüses genz." (v. 487 f.)

Here the travelers see a tomb which they learn is that of the king of the country, who was killed for the love of a lady at Caruënt. The mother now gives Yonec the sword and tells him the story of his birth. She thereupon falls dead on her lover's tomb, and the son, after cutting off her husband's head, ascends the throne of his father.

Yonec belongs to the group of mediaeval poems known as Breton lays; that is, it claims descent from Celtic tradition. Though the term Breton Lay was doubtless applied originally

only to those poems based on Celtic lore, the popularity of genuine Breton Lays seems to have induced certain poets to claim attention for their work by ascribing to the Celts stories which had nothing Celtic about them. However this may be, it is well known that the title Breton Lay does not of itself prove Celtic origin. Nevertheless, in the absence of direct evidence pointing elsewhere, it is our duty to give the Celtic hypothesis a chance to establish its claims, both on account of the claim itself and because Celtic tradition offered to the mediaeval poets of England and France one of the most easily accessible popular sources from which to draw the materials of romantic fiction.

Although the localization of the events of *Yonec* on Celtic soil has been noted,³ and several Celtic analogues (including episodes from the Irish *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*⁴ and

³ According to Gaston Paris (*Romania*, VIII (1879), p. 34), Caerüent is probably the ancient *Venta Silurium*, in Monmouthshire (cf. Warnke, *Die Lais*, p. 232). Zimmer (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, I (1890), p. 800, n. 1) seems to prefer this explanation, but suggests also *Venta Belgarum* = *Caer Went* = *Wintonia* = Winchester.

The river Duëlas, on which Caerüent is said to have stood, has not been identified (cf. Bédier, *Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. 107 (1891), p. 848). It may represent a Celtic *Dubglas* (Blackish-blue), the name of some stream which has disappeared (cf. Warnke, *Die Lais*, p. 232; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 2d. edn., Stuttgart, 1900, p. 379).

The mention of Carlion (Caerleon) and of St. Aaron also speak strongly for the origin of the story on Celtic soil (F. Lot, *Romania*, XXIV (1895), p. 520; cf. *Romania*, XXV (1896), p. 32; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 381; but see Ahlström, *Studier i den fornfranska Laislitteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 13 ff.).

Warnke (*Die Lais*, p. 232) notes that "*Yonec*, aus *Ywonec*, ist das bretonische, *Ionet* (which is also found in the MSS), das französische Deminutivum des bei den Bretonen beliebten *Iwon* = Iwein." Cf. Lot, *Romania*, XXV (1896), p. 1; Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 378. According to Rhys, the name goes back to an ancient Celtic *Esugenos* (*Hibbert Lectures* for 1886, London, 1888, p. 63, n. 2.).

⁴ Alfred Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, II (1891), p. 87 ff.; *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 56, n. 1. Cf. Miss Edith Rickert, *Marie de France, Seven of her Lays*, 1901, p. 186; Reinhold Koehler, in Warnke's *Die Lais*, 1900, p. CXXVI; E. Freymond in Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, III (1891-4), 2, Erlangen, 1897, p. 167.

Tochmarc Étaíne ⁵ and the Welsh *Mabinogi of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*) ⁶ have been more or less discussed, no thoroughgoing examination of the Celtic parallels to the leading features of the story has, so far as I know, ever been made. The purpose of the present investigation is to attempt to ascertain how far the most important elements in Marie's poem can be accounted for in Celtic tales preserved in forms which date from a period earlier than that at which Marie wrote.

THE SHAPE-SHIFTING FAIRY LOVER.

That male supernatural beings sometimes form alliances with mortal women was well believed among the ancient Celts. Of the Gauls St. Augustine in his treatise *De Civitate Dei* ⁷ writes: "Creberrima fama est multique se expertos, vel ab eis qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non est, audisse confirmant, Silvanos, et Faunos, quos vulgo incubos vocant, improbos saepe existisse mulieribus, et earum appetisse ac peregissee concubitum; et quosdam daemones, quos Dusios Galli nuncupant, hanc assidue immunditiam et tentare et efficere, plures talesque asseverant, ut hoc negare impudentiae videatur." That a similar belief prevailed among the Irish is amply attested in early Goidelic literature.⁷

⁵ Miss Edith Rickert, *loc. cit.* Cf. Pietro Toldo, *Romanische Forschungen*, XVI (1903-4), p. 609 f.; Oliver M. Johnston, *Publs. Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XX (1905), p. 322 ff. See also *Studi medievali*, II (1906), p. 1 ff.

⁶ *Liber XV*, cap. XXIII (Migne, *Patrologiae*, vol. XLI, col. 468).

⁷ An example of the rationalized fairy lover is found in the *Tain Bó Fraich* (Cattle Raid of Froech). Strachan (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, (1895-98), p. 97, n. 2) regards the *Tain Bó Fraich* as "perhaps the most archaic of the longer sagas", and in his discussion of "The Deponent Verb in Irish" (*op. cit.*, vol. for 1891-94, pp. 495, 555), he places it on linguistic grounds in a group of tales which may be regarded as more or less exact copies of texts written down in the ninth century, or earlier. For editions see *Publications of the Royal Ir. Acad.*, Irish MSS Series I, pt. I (1870) p. 134 ff.; *Revue Celtique*, XXIV (1903), p. 127 ff. See also J. T. Gilbert, *Facs. of Nat'l MSS of Ireland*, II (1878), XXXV ff.; O'Curry *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, III (1873), p. 218 ff.; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, Berlin, 1901, p. 116 ff.; A. H. Leahy,

The *Dinnshenchus* is an Irish document consisting of a collection of passages written for the most part in both prose and verse, and giving traditional explanations of various place names connected with the legendary history of Ireland. The versified portions probably go back to the ninth or tenth century, and may contain material of much greater antiquity.⁸ In one of these poems, found in a well known Irish manuscript called the *Book of Leinster*, dating from about the middle of the twelfth century, we learn that Aed, son of the Dagda, one of the most famous of the Irish supernatural beings, committed adultery with the wife of Corrcend, and was slain by the aggrieved husband.⁹ In another affair, described in the fourteenth century

Heroic Romances of Ireland, II, London (1906), p. 6 ff. See further *Agallamh na Senorach* (*Silva Gadelica*, ed. S. H. O'Grady, II, p. 260; *Irische Texte*, IV, 1, p. 260 f.).

In some cases the woman herself belongs to the family of the immortals. For example, Oengus, mac ind Oc, one of the most important supernatural beings of the early Irish, was the illegitimate son of the great Dagda and the wife of Elcmar, another fairy king (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philol.*, V (1904), p. 527). In one of the *Dinnshenchus* poems the Dagda is said to have bestowed his attentions on a fairy woman named Boand (*Publications of the Royal Irish Acad.*, Todd Lect. Ser., IX, p. 18 f.), and in an extraordinary story found in the *Agallamh na Senorach* (*Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 196 f.) we read that Manannán mac Lir fell in love with the sister of a warrior of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and succeeded in winning her for his own.

Muldumarec is by no means the only example of the supernatural lover in mediaeval romance. Caradóc, the hero of a long section of *Perceval* (ed. Potvin, v. 12, 451 ff.), is the son of a supernatural father and a mortal mother. The latter, after the birth of Caradoc, is shut up by her husband in a "tor de perrine" (v. 12, 936), where she is visited by her lover, who is finally captured, and punished. See also the lay of *Tydorel* (*Rom.*, VIII (1879), p. 67 ff.); *Sir Orfeo* (ed. O. Zielke, Breslau, 1880); *Sir Gowther* (ed. Karl Breul, Oppeln, 1886); and the story of Uther and Igerne (Kittredge, *Amer. Journal of Philol.*, VII (1886), pp. 2, 3 and n. 4); J. W. Beach, *The Loathly Lady* (unpublished Harvard diss'n., 1907), chap. V, p. 72 ff. See further infra, n. 93.

⁸ On the age of the material contained in the *Dinnshenchus*, see infra. p. 32 and n. 16.

⁹ *Publications of the Royal Irish Academy*, Todd Lecture Series, VII (1900), p. 42 f.; cf. *Revue Celtique*, XVI (1895), p. 42.

Book of Ballymote, Bennan mac Brec for a similar offense killed Ibel,¹⁰ son of Manannán mac Lir,¹¹ another well known prince of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*,¹² or fairy people of Ireland.

The supernatural lover who shifts his shape in order to visit his mistress figures in the *Compert Mongain* (Birth of Mongan), the earliest version of which occurs in one of the most important early Irish manuscripts, the *Lebhor na h-Uidre* (Book of the Dun Cow), written near the beginning of the twelfth century. The story itself is probably much older than the manuscript in which it is recorded,¹³ and in any case was in existence long before Marie's lay was written. According to the version found in the fifteenth century *Book of Fermoy*,¹⁴ Manannán mac Lir assumes the form of Fiachna Lurga, king of the Ulster Dalriada, and with the latter's permission visits his wife.¹⁵ He tells her that she will bear a son who shall be called Mongan and will be famous.

¹⁰ *Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 527, xxviii, text p. 480; cf. *Revue Celtique*, XVI (1895), p. 50.

¹¹ On *Manannán mac Lir*, who was known to both the Goidelic and Brythonic Celts (Welsh, *Manawythan map Llyr*), see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais (Cours de Littérature celtique, II)*, 1884, p. 322 ff., Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I (1895), p. 24; Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, 1899, pp. 54, 102; Joyce, *Social History of Ir.*, 1903, I., pp. 251, 256. *Manannán* still lives in the popular tradition of Ireland: Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1895, p. 124 f.

¹² On the *Tuatha Dé Danann* see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais (Cours de Litt. celt., II)*, 1884, pp. 140 ff., 266 ff.; Joyce, *Social History of Ir.*, 1903, I, p. 251 f.

¹³ Alfred Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, London, 1897, pp. 11, 17, 22 and 35, *Zeitschrift für Celt. Philol.*, II (1899), p. 319; Kuno Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁴ See *Voyage of Bran*, I (1895), p. 72.

¹⁵ In the Middle English lay of *Sir Gowther* (ed. Karl Breul, Oppeln, 1886) the supernatural lover gains the lady's favors by assuming the form of her husband (v. 68 ff.; cf. v. 7 ff. and p. 119 of the edn. cit.). On the similarity between the *Compert Mongain* and *Sir Gowther*, see Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 2d. edn., 1900, p. 389. In the *Tochmarc Étaíne* (see *infra*, n. 38.) Midir, the other-world lover of Queen Étaíne, appears to her in the form of her would-be mortal admirer, Ailill

The most important point of similarity between this passage and the lay of *Yonac* lies in the fact that both contain the supernatural lover who disguises himself in order to gain access to the wife of a mortal, and makes certain predictions with regard to the offspring of their union.

A still more striking parallel to the French poem is found in one of the prose sections of the *Dinnshenchus*, which Professor Kuno Meyer regards as "eine im 12. Jahrhundert verfasste Prosaauflösung der in den Schulen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Lehrgedichte über irische Topographie."¹⁶ The story summarized below¹⁷ was therefore probably well known in Marie's time, though doubtless it, like others of our Celtic parallels, underwent many changes before it ever reached the ears of an Anglo-Norman *trouvère*.

"Tuag, daughter of Conall, son of Eterscel, there was she reared, in Tara [apart from men¹⁸] with a great host of Eriu's kings' daughters about her to protect her. After she had completed her fifth year no man was allowed to see her, so that the

(*Revue Celtique*, III (1876-78), p. 359; *Irische Texte* I, p. 127). Miss Rickert compares with *Yonac* the *Mabinogi* of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*, in which a mortal is transformed by a supernatural being into the latter's semblance, and thus gains access to his wife (see above, n. 5.).

¹⁶ *Festschrift to Whitley Stokes*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 1, n. 1. With regard to the stories contained in the prose collection, Stokes himself says: "Whatever be their date, the documents as they stand are a storehouse of ancient Irish folk-lore, absolutely unaffected, so far as I can judge, by any foreign influence": *Folk Lore*, III (1892), p. 468.

¹⁷ The collection from which this summary is taken is found in the fourteenth century *Book of Ballymote* (*Folk-Lore*, III (1892), p. 511), and other MSS, most of which, except the *Book of Leinster*, range in date from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. See also *Folk Lore*, IV, p. 471 ff.; *Revue Celtique*, XV (1894), pp. 272 ff., 418 ff.; XVI (1895), pp. 31 ff., 135 ff., 269 ff. Cf. *Publications of the Royal Irish Academy*, Todd Lect. Ser. VII, preface. Certain metrical pieces have been ed. and trans. by Edward Gwynn, *Publications of the R. I. A.*, Todd Lect. Ser. VII, VIII, IX.

¹⁸ The words enclosed in brackets are taken from the sixteenth century *Lecan MS* (*Revue Celtique*, XVI (1895), p. 152).

King of Ireland might have the wooing of her. Now Manannán sent unto her a messenger, (one) of his fair messengers, even Fer Figail, son of [the elf-king] Eogabal (a fosterling and a druid of the Tuatha Dé Danann), in a woman's shape, and he was three nights there." On the fourth night he chanted a "sleep-spell" over her and carried her off to Inver Glas, where she was accidentally drowned. Here, as in the lay of *Yonec*, a woman secluded from the society of men is visited by a fairy man who is a shape-shifter and who assumes the form of a woman¹⁹ in order to reach her, just as Muldumarec takes his mistress's shape in order to receive the sacrament.

The passages cited above prove that the shape-shifting fairy lover was a well known figure among the ancient Irish. There is also abundant evidence that the form assumed by supernatural beings both among the Goidels and Brythons was frequently that of a bird. Henri Gaidoz, in his review of Camille Jullian's *Recherches sur la Religion gauloise*,²⁰ says: "Le principal rôle, dans la faune religieuse des Gaulois, paraît avoir été réservé aux oiseaux";²¹ and Sir John Rhys, in his *Celtic Folklore*,²² cites a number of examples of human beings who became birds.

In the ancient Irish saga of the *Tain Bó Regamma* (Cattle Raid of R.),²³ one of the most famous of the Irish supernatural

¹⁹ This feature is also found in the lay of Désiré (ed. Francisque Michel, *Lais inédits des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1836, p. 21 f.), where Lucien Foulet (*Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, XXIX (1905), p. 39), regards it as borrowed from *Yonec*. For an additional Celtic example see *infra*, n. 77.

²⁰ *Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi*, Fascicule VI, Bordeaux, 1903.

²¹ *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, mai-juin, 1905, p. 36.

²² *Pub.*, Oxford, 1901, II, p. 612. See further San-Marte, *Beiträge zur bretonischen u. celtisch-germanischen Heldensage*, Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1847, pp. 67, 81, and *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Reg. Brit. u. Brut Tysilio*, Halle, 1854, p. 463. Angelo de Gubernatis (*Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, p. 192) calls attention to the fact that the hawk in mythology is usually regarded as divine and that in the middle ages it was one of the distinctive badges of knighthood.

²³ The story is found in the *Yellow Book of Lecan* and MS, Egerton 1782, both of which were printed and the former translated by Windisch,

women, the *Morrigu*,²⁴ appears as a black bird, and she is frequently called the *Badb* (scald-crow).²⁵ In one of the poems in the *Imram Brain* (Voyage of Bran), which form the oldest portions of the text and may have been written down as early as the seventh century,²⁶ one of Mongan's transformations is said to be a "fair white swan".²⁷ In the story known as the *Cophur in dá Muccida* (Begetting of the Two Swineherds), which is older than the eleventh century,²⁸ two fairy beings at one stage of their existence assume the form of ravens,²⁹ and

Irische Texte, II, 2 (1887), p. 250. See also A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, II (1906), p. 136. The tale has been placed by Strachan on linguistic grounds in a group of stories which may be regarded as more or less exact transcriptions of texts written down in the ninth century or earlier (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, 1891-94, pp. 497 f., 555). Cf. *Revue Celtique*, XXVI (1905), p. 195.

²⁴ On two ancient Gaulish altars discovered respectively at Paris and Trèves there appear three cranes, which Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville has interpreted as *Morrigu*, *Bodb* (*Badb*), and *Macha*, three names applied to this deity (*Revue Celtique* XIX (1898), p. 245 ff.). Cf. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'Etude de l'Antiquité celtique*, 1906, p. 237. See further Alexandre Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois—Les Druides et le Druidisme*, Paris, 1897, p. 350 ff. On the *Morrigu* and her sisters, see Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, 1895, p. 127 f., and *Traces of the Elder Faiths in Ireland*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1902, I, p. 359. For appearance of birds on Gaulish coins, see Gaidoz, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, mai-juin, 1905, p. 36.

²⁵ On the appearance of supernatural beings in the form of a crow, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais* (*Cours de Litt. celt.*, II), 1884, p. 194 f. (cf. p. 267); Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, 1895, p. 127, *Traces of the Elder Faiths in I.*, 1902, I, p. 359. Cf. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'Etude de l'Antiquité celtique*, 1906, p. 247.

²⁶ Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 1895, p. xvi.

²⁷ *Voyage of Bran*, I, 1895, p. 26 f. The swan is not mentioned in a document enumerating Mongan's transformations, ed. and trans., Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschrift für Celt. Philol.*, II (1899), p. 314 ff.

²⁸ *Voyage of Bran*, II, 1897, p. 70.

²⁹ *Irische Texte*, III, 1 (1891), p. 250. See also *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 59; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides*, etc., 1906, p. 171 ff. see esp. p. 174).

the prehistoric Tuan mac Cairill, the oldest version of whose history is found in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* and is regarded by Mr. Nutt as "probably a production of the late ninth or early tenth century", tells how he at one time was in the shape of a hawk.⁸⁰

A number of bird transformations are also found in Brythonic literature. In the *Mabinogi* of *Math, Son of Mathonwy*, which probably contains much genuine Welsh tradition,⁸¹ Lleu, when struck by the poisoned lance of Gronw, becomes an eagle,⁸² and in the same document Gwydyon changes Blodeuwedd into an owl.⁸³ In another of the *Mabinogion*—that of *Kulhwch and Olwen*—⁸⁴ Menw transforms himself into a bird in order to reach the wonderful Twrch Trwyth.⁸⁵ In the *Hanes Taliesin* (History of T.), which though in its present form not older than the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, doubtless contains material

⁸⁰ *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 81. See also pp. 299, 291, (cf. p. 79).

⁸¹ Though the oldest of the so-called *Mabinogion* are probably not earlier in composition than the end of the eleventh century, the most recent not later than the thirteenth century (J. Loth, *Les Mab.*, Paris, 1913, Introd., Dottin, *Revue de Synthèse historique*, VI (1903), p. 340 f., and *Manuel*, 1906, p. 3 f.), *Kulhwch and Olwen* and "the four branches of the *Mabinogi*"—including *Pwyll, Prince of Dyved*; *Branwen, Daughter of Llyr*; *Manawythan, Son of Llyr*; and *Math, Son of Mathonwy*—are largely composed of Celtic tradition long antedating the twelfth century. See Loth, *loc. cit.*, Alfred Nutt, *The Folk-Lore Record*, V (1882), pp. 1 f., 7, 16; *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 18; Anwyl, *Zeitschrift für Celt. Philol.*, I (1897), p. 279 f., *Arch. Cambr.*, 6th ser., IV (1904), p. 208; Rhys, *Proceedings of the Brit. Acad.*, 1903-4, p. 67. See further Ivor B. John, *Transactions of the Guild of Graduates* (of the University of Wales) for 1903, Cardiff, 1904, p. 9 ff.

⁸² Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, ed., J. Loth, Paris, 1913, I. p. 204 f., p. 148.

⁸³ *Les Mabinogion*, edn. cit. p. 208.

⁸⁴ *Les Mabinogion*, edn. cit., p. 334.

⁸⁵ On the antiquity of the story of the Twrch Trwyth, see San-Marte, *Beiträge zur bretonischen u. celtisch-germanischen Hildensage*, 1847, p. 63 f. Cf. Stevens, *Lit. of the Kymry*, 1876, p. 398, and Rhys, *Proceedings of the Brit. Acad.*, 1903-4, p. 57, *Les Mab.*, edn. cit., I, p. 310, n. 1.

of a much earlier date,³⁶ there are several examples of bird-transformations, one of which represents Ceridwen as changing herself into a hawk in order to chase Gwion Bach.³⁷

These citations show how wide spread among the early Celts was the belief in the ability of supernatural beings to transform themselves or others into birds, and I am told that the appearance of *fées* in bird-form is known to this day in Brittany, Wales, and Ireland.

In the lay of *Yonect* the features of the supernatural lover and the supernatural bird, which we have so far found separate in Celtic literature, are united in one story. It is therefore of the greatest interest to note a similar combination in Irish literature of a high degree of antiquity. In the *Tochmarc Étaíne* (Wooing of Etain),³⁸ Midir, the supernatural lover of an unfortunate fairy lady, changes himself and his mistress into swans when he escapes with her from the palace of King Eochaid.³⁹

³⁶ Alfred Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 84. See also Dottin, *Revue de Synthèse historique*, VI (1903), p. 327, and Ivor B. John, *Transactions of the Guild of Graduates* (of the University of Wales) for 1903 (1904), p. 9 f.

³⁷ *The Mabinogion*, transl., Lady Guest, London, 1904, p. 296. Cf. D. W. Nash, *Taliesin*, etc., 1858, p. 152 ff.; Alfred Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 90; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, 1901, II, p. 613 f. In the Welsh poem called the *Kat Godeu*, cited by Nutt (*Voyage of Bran*, II, p. 91), one of the bard's transformations is said to have been an eagle (Cf. D. W. Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 227). For further examples of supernatural birds, see Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Hist. Reg. Brit.* (ed. San-Marte, Halle, (1854) II, 9; XII 18; pp. 219, 463 ff. (cf. IX, 6 and p. 377); Rhŷs, *op. cit.*, p. 610; and Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, Glasgow, 1911, p. 92 ff.

³⁸ For text and trans. of the passage cited, see A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, II (1906), p. 161. The *Tochmarc Étaíne* has been reconstructed from the extant fragments by L. C. Stern, *Zeitschrift für celt. Philol.*, V (1904-5), p. 527 ff. For further bibliography, see Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I (1895), p. 175, n. 1; Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, London, II (1913), p. 422, n. 3.

On the antiquity of the story, see Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, p. 53.

³⁹ Miss Rickert, following Alfred Nutt, calls attention to the additional fact that the *Tochmarc Étaíne* resembles *Yonect* in depicting the "rivalry

A much more striking parallel than that furnished by the *Tochmarc Étaíne* was noted some twenty years since by Mr. Alfred Nutt. The episode in point is found in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* (Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel), contained in a manuscript known as the *Yellow Book of Lecan*.⁴⁰ This codex dates from the fourteenth century, but we are fully justified in treating the passage summarized below as belonging to a version of the story far earlier than the date at which *Yonect* was written.⁴¹ The account is as follows:

between a mortal and a fairy for the love of a woman, and of a consequent feud which results in the overthrow of the race of the mortal" (*Marie de France, Seven of her Lays*, 1901, p. 186). The fairy vengeance resulting from the strife between King Eochaid and Midir is described in the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, which forms a sequel to the *Tochmarc Étaíne*.

⁴⁰ The saga has been ed. and trans. by Whitley Stokes from the *Lebhor na h-Uidre* (L. U.) (in which it is found in fragmentary form), and the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (Y. B. L.), in the *Revue Celtique*, XXII (1901), pp. 9 ff., 165 ff., 282 ff. For analysis, see Zimmer, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVIII, p. 556 ff., *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache* (N. F.), VIII, p. 554.

⁴¹ The arguments on which this conclusion is based are as follows: The *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga* is mentioned in the well known list of heroic sagas given in the *Book of Leinster* (L. L.; about the middle of the twelfth cent.). The list includes those tales with which every Irish poet was required to be acquainted; hence the *Togail* must have been well known at the time the MS was written. Parts of the story are referred to in two of the *Dinnshenchus* poems found in the *Book of Leinster* and elsewhere (*Publications of the R. I. A.*, Todd Lect. Ser., VII (1900), p. 60, l. 77 ff., and IX, pt. 2 (1906), p. 4, l. 37 ff.). Moreover, the death of Conaire the Great, which is described in the *Togail*, is referred to in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* version of the *Serglige Conchulainn*, which text is said to have been copied from the *Yellow Book of Slane*, evidently a MS older than the early twelfth century, at which date L. U. was transcribed (Zimmer, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (1887), p. 554; cf. *Irische Texte*, I, p. 197). The passage containing the story of the bird-man, though found only in Y. B. L. and later MSS, probably belonged originally to the L. U. version also, for Y. B. L. and L. U. are very similar in the passages they have in common (*Folk-Lore*, II (1891), p. 88). But the tale itself must be very much older than even the early twelfth century,

Cormac, king of Ulster, weds the daughter of Eochaid Feidlech, High King of Ireland, but puts her away "because she was unfruitful, save that she bore a daughter to Cormac". He then weds Etain, a *fée* (really the same woman who had formerly been his wife). She demands that the daughter of the woman who was abandoned before her shall be killed,⁴² but Cormac refuses to give the child to her. "Then his two thralls take her (the child) to a pit, and she smiles a laughing smile at them as they were putting her into the pit. Then their (kindly) nature came to them (and they decided to spare her) A fenced (?) house of wickerwork is made by them for her without any door, but only a window and a skylight."⁴³ Here the girl grows up and is educated in needlework. While in this strange dwelling she is discovered by King Eterscel's attendants. "Now while she was there next morning she saw a Bird on the skylight coming to her, and he leaves his birdskin on the floor of the house, and went to her and captured her, and said: 'They are coming to thee from the king to wreck thy house and to bring thee to him perforce. And thou wilt be pregnant by me, and bear a son, and that son must not kill birds. And "Conaire, son of Mess Buachalla" shall be his name', for hers was Mess

for Zimmer (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, XXVIII, p. 583), shows reason for believing that the part of the story we are now examining was taken from the *Book of Drum Snechta*, a lost MS which was used in preparing the *Lebor na h-Huidre*. Finally, Strachan, on the ground of the preservation of the deponent conjugation in the *L. U.* version of the *Togail*, places the tale in a group of texts which may be regarded as more or less exact copies of stories written down in the ninth century or earlier (*Philol. Soc. Trans.*, 1891-94, pp. 499 f., 555; cf. Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

⁴² According to Stokes's trans. (*Revue Celtique*, XXII (1901) p. 19), it was the father who desired the child's death. The text at this point is perfectly ambiguous, but in the absence of direct grammatical evidence, it seems probable that we have here an example of the Jealous Stepmother.

⁴³ According to one of the *Egerton* MSS, the thralls put the child into the hollow of a tree, where she is discovered by King Eterscel's cowherds.

Buachalla, 'the Cowherds' fosterchild'." The prediction is fulfilled. Conaire is born, and later becomes king, but meets his death at Da Derga's hostel by violating, together with others of his tabus, those imposed upon him by his supernatural father.⁴⁴

This remarkable story, in spite of a certain element of obscurity, perhaps due to its being a redaction of a still older account, bears a strong similarity to the lay of *Yonec*. In both a woman kept in a secluded dwelling is visited by a supernatural lover who enters her apartment through a window. He comes in the form of a bird, which disguise he abandons at will.⁴⁵ Mr. Nutt in emphasizing the importance of the Irish account for any investigation of the origins of *Yonec*, says: "This tale . . . contains the earliest recorded post-classical European examples of the following folk-tale themes: the Jealous Stepmother and Exposed Child (Etain is the stepmother) and the Supernatural Lover in Bird Shape. This latter theme makes its earliest appearance in general European literature in Marie de France's *lai* of *Yonec*.⁴⁶ I venture to think the significance of these facts indisputable; they testify to the Celtic character of Marie's work, which indeed can only be denied by those who are ignorant of the subject."⁴⁷

The fairy lover in bird-form also plays an important part in another Irish tale, told in one of the *Dinnshenchus* poems, which, as already indicated,⁴⁸ were probably written as early as the ninth

⁴⁴ *Revue Celtique*, XXII (1901), p. 18 ff.

⁴⁵ Johnston calls attention to the fact that Mess Buachalla, like the heroine of *Yonec*, bears a son who later becomes king of the country (*Publns. of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XX (1905), p. 329).

⁴⁶ The bird lover also turns up in a rather interesting fashion in a Low German romance called *Der Junker und der treue Heinrich*, which probably dates from the fourteenth century. It has been ed. by Karl Kinzel, Berlin, 1880. Cf. the version published by von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer* III, Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1850, p. 197 ff.

⁴⁷ *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897, p. 56, n. 1. See also E. Freymond in Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, III, 1891-94 (1897), p. 167.

⁴⁸ P. 32 and n. 16.

or tenth century. The poem in question in its earliest form occurs in the well known *Book of Leinster*.⁴⁹ Copies are also found in three later manuscripts in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. These are: 23.L.22⁵⁰ (modern undated), 23.L.34⁵¹ (early 18th century), and 24.P.5⁵² (probably late 17th century). I give below an edition and an English rendering, based on a copy and translation of the *Leinster* version, for which I am indebted to Mr. E. J. Gwynn, of Trinity College, Dublin.

[SNÁM DA ÉN.]

Snám da Én, na éoin diatá,
sloindfet duib can immarga;
senchas sár confeith in slúag, 5
in ní diatá in Snám sírfúar.⁵³

Nár mac Féic meic Conaill Chais
nirsat briathra fir anbais:
rob í⁵⁴ a chéile, cœm in ben,
Estiu in ban-fhénnid bith-gel⁵⁵

Buidi mac Deirg, co ndíri,
a crúachánaib Dubthiri 10
ba lennán d'Estin amra-
Budi mac Deirg dath-amra.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ P. 202, 2, l. 60—p. 203, 1, l. 27, of the *Facsimile*, ed. Robert Atkinson, Dublin, 1880. For partial transcription, see Stern, *Revue Celtique*, XIII (1892), p. 10 f., nn. 5 ff. Prose versions of the story have been edited from one MS by L. C. Stern (*Rev. Celt.*, XIII (1892), p. 10 f.) and from two MSS by myself (with the assistance of Messrs. O. J. Bergin and J. H. Lloyd) (*Rev. Celt.*, XXXI (1910), p. 448 ff.). See also *Eriu* V (1911), p. 221 f. Cf. *Rev. Celt.*, XVI (1895), p. 57; *Silva Gadelica*, II, pp. 469, 514.

⁵⁰ P. 237, l. 17 ff.

⁵¹ P. 284, l. 16 ff.

⁵² P. 161, l. 6 ff.

⁵³ LL, *sírbúad*, ever-excellent.

⁵⁴ 23. L. 22, *ro-bi*, killed.

⁵⁵ 23. L. 34, *bruingheal*, of the white breast.

⁵⁶ All except LL, *dath-chalma*, complexion-brave.

Budi⁸⁷ mac Deirg dian-garta
ocus Lúan⁸⁸ a chomalta
ir-richt da én, ébda⁸⁹ sin, 15
tictis co h-Estin imglain.

Andsin dochantaís don tslúag
céol seng sírechtach sírbúan
co cotlad in slúag uile
risin céol na sídchuire. 20

Tráth n-a chotlad cách do chéin
tictis n-a rectaib fadéin:
dobid Buide, nír deccair,
is Estiu i n-oenlepaid.

Andsin no-s-iarfaigend Nár 25
dia druid,⁹⁰ ba díchra in comrád,
ca bale óssa tecat na h-éoin
co h-Estin álaind ardmóir.

IS andsin atbert in drúi:
"ní chélam-ni fort, a rí;⁹¹ 30
is iat na h-éoin dothaet and,
Bude is Luan nach lánmall."

Andsin tecait forsinn áth,
immar nathictis co gnáth:
ní-ma-tancatar⁹² n-a n-dáil: 35
luid Estiu issin comdail.

Téit mac meic Conaill Cernaig
ar a n-druim,— ba mór d'erbaid—
co rodibairg,—⁹³ trén a chur—
corosmarb do óen-urchur. 40

⁸⁷ 23. L. 22 and 24. P. 5 omit the first two lines of this stanza.

⁸⁸ 23. L. 34 inserts *laochta* after Lúan.

⁸⁹ All except LL, *sáebda*, deceitful.

⁹⁰ All except LL, plural.

⁹¹ 23. L. 34, *aoín ní*, a single thing.

⁹² All except LL substitute for the last two lines the following:

garit bádar isin tráig

corluid Esti 'na ccomdail (various spellings):

For a short time they were at the strand until Esti went to the place of tryst.

⁹³ All except LL. add *sleig*, spear.

Fáchtair bethu bec il-Lúan
 corránic inn ath n-índ-úar
 ocus conn áth túas atbath,
 Lúan mac Lugair mac Lugdach.

Luid Estiu lám frisín sruth 45
 ocus conn áth túas atbath.
 is úadi sluinter in mag
 bail is marb, immaig Eisten.

Luid Nár co Móin Tíre Náir⁶⁶
 ar ciúniud ar a comdail; 50
 is marb do chumaid a mná
 Nár mac Féic fer ná terna.

IS de sin atá Ath Lúain
 is Snám da Ēn ri h-oenúair,
 's⁶⁶ Móin Tíri Náir,—niamda in dál— 55
 's⁶⁶ Mag n-Esten Sinna na snám. S.

Translation. [THE SWIMMING-PLACE OF THE TWO BIRDS.]

Snam da En, from what birds it is named
 I will set forth to you without deceit—
 a tale of violent deeds that the host encounters,
 the cause whence the ever-chilly swimming-place is named.

Nar, son of Fiac, son of Conall Cas, 5
 (his were not the words of a fickle man [i. e. he kept his word]),
 his mate—fair the woman—
 was Estiu the ever-white, the woman-warrior.

Bude, son of Derg, with fitness,
 from the hillocks of Dubthir, 10
 was famous Estiu's paramour,—
 Bude, son of Derg, famed for beauty.

Bude, son of Derg, of eager hospitality,
 and Luan, his foster brother,
 in the form of two birds—lovely they were— 15
 came to radiant Estiu.

⁶⁶ 23. L. 34 and 24. P. 5 substitute for this line:
 agus [ro]buidh rogharít a riudh;
 And her race was very short.

⁶⁶ LL, *tr* in *Nair*.

⁶⁶ MSS, *is*.

Then they chanted to the host
a shrill bewitching ceaseless strain,
till the whole host fell asleep
at the strain of the fairy folk. 20

At an hour when all were long asleep
they came in their proper shapes:
Bude—it was no marvel—
shared Estiu's bed.

Then Nar enquires 25
of his druid,—earnest was their discourse—
From what quarter come the birds
to lovely lofty Estiu.

Then the druid made answer:
"We conceal it not from thee, O King! 30
These are birds that come thither:
Bude, and Luan that is not sluggish."

Then [the birds] come to the ford
where their custom was to come:
not luckily they came to their meeting: 35
Estiu went to the place of tryst.

The son's son of Conall Cernach goes
behind them,—it was a mighty loss—
and hurled [a spear],—strong his cast—
so that he slew them at one shot. 40

A little life is left in Luan
and he reached the chilly ford;
and above the ford he died,
Luan, son of Lugar, son of Lugaid.

Estiu went along the stream-side, 45
and no short race she ran:
from her is named the plain
where she died, in Mag Esten.

Nar went to the Moor of Nar's Land,
after breaking in upon their tryst: 50
he dies of grief for his wife,
Nar, son of Fiac, a man that never fled.

Hence is Ath Luain named,
and Snam da En likewise,

and Moin Tire Nair,—famous plain—
and Mag Esten of many-forded Shannon.

55

The preservation of the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én* in its several versions in at least six manuscripts furnishes strong presumptive evidence of the popularity of the story, and the points of similarity between it and the first part of the lay of *Yonec* are certainly too marked to escape observation, and probably too numerous to be entirely accidental. In their broader outlines the two stories are almost identical. Both describe a tragic love affair between a fairy being and a mortal wife. A more detailed examination reveals still other resemblances:

1. The husband is a man of high position. In *Yonec* he is "avuēz" of Caruēnt, and lord of the country. In the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én* he has one or more druidical advisers, a fact which indicates that he is of kingly rank.⁶⁷

2. He is jealous of his wife.

3. The wife is of great beauty.

4. In *Yonec* she is desirous of a lover; in the *Dinnshenchus* she is evidently not averse to Bude's attentions.

5. In the French poem she receives her lover in a tower. The context of the Irish account indicates that Estiu sometimes entertained Bude inside her husband's dwelling.

6. The catastrophe is due to the discovery of the lady and her lover together.

7. The lover is of supernatural origin. In the *Dinnshenchus*, Bude is said to belong to the *síochuire*, or fairy folk.

8. His dwelling is reached by entering a hill-side. This is doubtless implied in the Irish statement that he comes *a crúachanaib Dubtire* (from the hillocks of Dubtir), and even in the absence of this bit of evidence his being a hill-dweller might readily be inferred from the fact that so many Celtic other-world beings resided in the green mounds of Ireland.

⁶⁷ See Alexandre Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois.—Les Druides et le Druidisme*, 1897, p. 277 ff. See also d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides*, etc., 1906, p. 115 f., and Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, 1903, I, p. 42.

9. In order to gain access to his mistress, the lover disguises himself as a beautiful bird.

10. His visits are of frequent occurrence.

11. His presence is finally discovered, and his death is caused by the husband.

12. The person who discloses the lover's existence is a dependent of the husband.

Considering together the various fragments of Goidelic and Brythonic tradition given above, with special attention to the story just analyzed, we are justified in concluding that the tale of a shape-shifting fairy lover who visits a mortal mistress in the form of a bird, if not a piece of pan-Celtic tradition, was at least current on Celtic soil long before the date of Marie's lay,⁶⁸ and that she or her source probably knew and utilized a form of the story resembling more or less closely that found in the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én*.⁶⁹

* For a modern Celtic example of the bird-lover, see Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, new edn., 1890, I, p. 64 ff.

* The type of story outlined above furnishes, I believe, an explanation of the somewhat obscure B version of the ballad of *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight* (Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, no. 4), which "of all ballads . . . has obtained the widest circulation". It begins as follows:

"There came a bird out o a bush,
On water for to dine,
And sighing sair, says the king's daughter,
'O wae's this heart o mine'!
He's taen a harp into his hand,
He's harped them all asleep,
Except it was the king's daughter,
Who one wink couldna get".

He then carries off the daughter, but she escapes from him. The lover, who here appears on the scene so unexpectedly, is undoubtedly the elf-knight of version A, who also carries off the lady and is outdone by her. In the light of the Irish stories we have examined, it is probable that if the tale were told in full, we should have an account of how a fairy being took the shape of a bird to gain access to a princess, and then, reassuming the appearance of a man, put her attendants to sleep with supernatural music and carried her off. See Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, 1906, p. 199. Contrast the opinion of Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, Boston and New York, 1907, p. 153.

An important feature common to the lay of *Yonac*, the *Compert Mongain*, the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, the story of Tuag, and the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én* is that the fairy lover changes his form voluntarily, and not as the result of any charm or enchantment exercised by himself or others. Both the French and the Irish accounts are marked by a frank acceptance of the supernatural transformation, without any effort to explain away its existence on the ground of "druidical power", as in the prose versions of *Snám da Én*, or by attributing it to some sort of incantation on the part of the mistress, as in several modern analogues to the lay of *Yonac*, or to a spell imposed upon the lover by a wicked *fée*, as happens in *L'Oiseau bleu*,⁷⁰ the most frequently cited modern analogue to the French poem. The tendency to regard the transformations of supernatural beings as entirely voluntary is highly characteristic of early Irish mythical literature, and must be regarded as representing a stage of development before the process of rationalization had deprived the immortal *Tuatha Dé Danann* of their original power and degraded them to more or less vulgar sorcerers. The agreement of the lay of *Yonac* with the Irish accounts in this respect is, I believe, highly significant, and furnishes an additional indication that in the French poem we are dealing with a very primitive version of the story of the bird-lover.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STORY

Coming now to the consideration of those features in which *Yonac* differs from the Irish stories, we note that the imprisonment of the wife in a tower by her husband, though forming an important part of the French poem, is not found in either the *Compert Mongain*, the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, or the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én*, the only Irish stories in which the heroine is married. Its absence is not, however, surprising in view of the position probably occupied by a woman of the higher class in early Irish social life. When married to a man of equal rank and fortune with herself, she was comparatively independent,

⁷⁰ *Les Contes des Fées*, par Madame D * * *, Paris, 1757, I, p. 67 ff.

and had the power of divorce. She took part in affairs, and even went out to war.⁷¹ Probably the most noteworthy example is Queen Medb of Connacht, who, in spite of the fact that she had a husband, constantly took the lead in the campaign against Ulster described in the great epic of the *Táin Bó Cúáinge* (Cattle Raid of Cooley). We cannot but recall also the warlike British queen Boudicca, whose heroic stand against the Roman forces is recorded by Tacitus in his *Annales*.⁷² Estiu also was a queen and a woman-warrior (*banfhénnid*)—scarcely the kind of woman who would be conceived of as pining for a fairy lover in a lonely *dún*.

The character of the wife in *Yonec* is no less typical of the age in which the poem was written. The heroine of the lay probably represented a type as familiar to the courtly circles of the twelfth century as the imprudent wife is to the readers of divorce-court proceedings today; and doubtless many a beautiful young *dame*, immured by a jealous husband in a lonely castle, gazed longingly through her narrow casement, and wished for the fairy knight who should bring the touch of romance into her monotonous existence. To the hearers and readers of Marie's lay the delicate, languishing, intriguing wife of a crabbed, jealous old man would be much more interesting than the more robust Celtic spouse, who, though equally unfaithful to her husband, made a far smaller claim upon their sympathies.⁷³ The heroine of early Irish story is likely to be epic in character; the lovesome ladies of the Arthurian poems and Breton lays are most often romantic in the extreme sense of the word. This difference is not difficult of explanation. The mediaeval *jongleur* was prob-

⁷¹ On the position of the wife among the early Celts, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit celtique* (*Cours de Litt. celt.*, VIII), Paris, 1895, p. 229 f.; *La Famille celtique*, Paris, 1905, pp. 55 ff., 171 ff.; Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, 1903, II, p. 8.

⁷² See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 1904, p. 66.

⁷³ Cf. Bédier, *Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. 107 (1891), p. 859, and Pietro Toldo, *Roman. Forsch.*, XVI (1904), p. 610. See further Weinhold, *Die deutschen frauen in dem Mittelalter*, 2d edn., Wien, 1882, I, p. 269 f.

ably just as anxious as the modern novelist to make his stories "up to date". This end he could easily further in the case of a tale like that of Bude and Estiu, without essentially disturbing the relations of its characters, by introducing a type of story known as *Inclusa*, which must have been well known in the late twelfth century and is perhaps of Oriental origin. It tells how a lover outwits a jealous husband who has shut up his young and beautiful wife in a tower.⁷⁴

The introduction of the *Inclusa* motif into a tale such as that of *Snám da Én* would be easily suggested by the similarity between the former and Celtic tales like certain of those enumerated above. In those of *Bennan mac Brec* and of *Corrcend*, as well as in the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én*, the husband manifests the bitterest jealousy towards the lover, and in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* the unfortunate queen is inside her husband's palace with closed doors when she is abducted by the wily Midir.⁷⁵

It is also worthy of note that the stories of *Tuag* and of *Mess Buachalla* agree with the *Inclusa* type in representing the woman as being kept in an isolated dwelling. In the former the heroine is a beautiful maiden who has been chosen as a fitting mate for the king, and as such is being brought up "apart from men", lest her purity be contaminated before she is conducted to the royal couch.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Freymond thinks Ahlström wrong in regarding the feature of the jealous wife-confining husband as Oriental (Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, III, 1891-94, 2 (1897), p. 164: cf. Miss Rickert, *Marie de France, Seven of her Lays*, 1901, p. 172). In the absence of definite evidence, it is of course impossible to dogmatize on this point. I believe, however, that Ahlström overestimates the Oriental element in the first part of *Yonac* (*Studier i den fornfranska Laislitteraturen*, 1892, p. 91 f.).

⁷⁵ See above, p. 36. It should also be noted that in the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én* the heroine is inside the *dún* of her husband, when she first receives the visits of Bude.

⁷⁶ This custom, which is perhaps connected with the savage practice of secluding girls at puberty (on which see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2d edn., 1900, III, p. 204 [cf. pp. 324, 422]) is also illustrated in the *Longes mac n-Uisnig* (Exile of the Sons of Uisnech), one of the most famous of all the

The necessity for some sort of change in Celtic accounts like the above, in order to adapt them to a courtly twelfth-century audience, together with the points of contact which they and the other stories mentioned have with the *Inclusa* type, is, I believe, amply sufficient to account for the appearance of the latter in the lay of *Yonec*.⁷⁷ We should, of course, not be surprised at the appearance of non-Celtic material in an originally Celtic story, and it is possible that we have here a case in point.⁷⁸ These ob-

early Irish romantic tales. Here the heroine is being reared in an isolated dwelling at the time when she forms her fatal attachment for Noisi: *Irische Texte*, I, p. 71. For bibliography and an edn. and trans. of a Belfast MS by Douglas Hyde, see *Zeitschrift für celt. Philol.*, II (1899), p. 138 ff.

⁷⁷ Attention should also be called to an Irish tale, which, though taken down from a popular source in 1835, may represent a piece of early tradition, and bears considerable resemblance to the *Inclusa* type outlined above. It is recorded among the notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters* (I, p. 18, n. 5). Balor "of the evil eye", the famous Fomorian chieftain who figures in the ancient saga of the "Second" *Cath Maige Turedh*, shuts up his beautiful daughter in a tower on Tory island, where she is constantly guarded from the approach of men by twelve matrons. Mac Kineely, a neighboring chieftain, by the help of a friendly *banshee* gains access to the tower in the form of a woman, and while the attendants are buried in a magic slumber, becomes the princess's lover and departs leaving her pregnant. Three children are born, one of whom, like Yonec, later avenges the death of his father, who has been slain by Balor. For another version of the story, see Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, London, 1894, p. 296 ff. Cf. Curtin, *op. cit.*, p. 58 ff., *Publications of the Irish Texts Society*, X (1908), pp. 103, 143. For these references I am indebted to Miss Eleanor Hull.

⁷⁸ Schofield has pointed out that in the lay of *Guingamor* "alongside a hind-messenger, a magic ship and a fay mistress, which may be regarded as Celtic, we find such features as a Gordian knot, a chastity girdle, a temple of Venus on which Ovid's stories are depicted, a wheel of fortune, but above all a transformed Oriental tale of a harem adventure in which a jealous spy-setting husband detects the amour of his young wife, whom he has kept confined in a place apart, and of whose attendant it is stated euphemistically (l. 257) that he was an eunuch" (*Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XV (n. s. VIII) (1900), p. 173). See also Reinhold Koehler, quoting Ahlström, in Warnke's *Die Lais*, 1900, p. LXXVIII.

servations, let it be repeated, in no way weaken the hypothesis that the French poem is based primarily on Celtic tradition.

Another apparent difficulty is encountered in the person of the old woman who in the lay of *Yonec* discovers the existence of the bird-lover. The fairy knight, after making the lady his mistress, warns her that misfortune will result if his visits become known, his language strongly suggesting the *tabus* imposed by supernatural beings upon their mortal favorites in Celtic romance.⁷⁹ The lady after the coming of Muldumarec regains her lost beauty, and becomes once more contented and happy, thereby exciting the suspicions of her husband, who directs his sister to spy more closely on her actions. The old woman at last discovers the lovers together, and reveals to her brother how the bird-man comes and goes. The *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én* is here again of great assistance in determining what may have been the original form of the tale on which *Yonec* is based. In the Irish story the husband, suspicious of his wife's behavior, consults his druid, and learns from him that the birds which visit Estiu are really Bude and Luan, who in the earlier part of the poetical version are said to belong to the fairy folk. The druid also appears elsewhere in early Irish literature in an affair between a mortal and a fairy. In the *Echtra Connla Chaim* (Adventures of C. the Fair),⁸⁰ found in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* and probably

⁷⁹ It is well known that other-world beings, when they enter into relations with mortals, are likely to establish some sort of *tabu*, or prohibition, the infringement of which results in evil. See Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, p. 146 f. Examples of the revelation *tabu* may be found in the following ancient Irish tales: *Noinden Ulad* (Debility of the Ultonians; ed. and trans., Windisch, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der könig. sächsisch. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Classe, XXXVI (1884), p. 338 ff.); and *Aidead Muirchertaig maic Erca* (Death of Muirchertach m. E.; ed. and trans., Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXIII (1902), p. 397); cf. *Tochmarc Becfola* (Wooing of B., Egerton version, ed. and trans., S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I. p. 85 ff., II, p. 91 ff.). See also *Les Mabinogion*, ed. Loth, 1913, I, p. 98.

⁸⁰ Ed. Windisch, *Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik*, p. 118 ff.; trans., *L'Épopée celt. en Irlande*, I, p. 385 ff. On the antiquity of the tale, see Strachan, *Philol. Soc. Trans.*, 1891-94, pp. 512, 555.

representing a very ancient piece of tradition, Connla, son of the famous Conn of the Hundred Battles, is visited by a fairy woman, who invites him to accompany her to the beautiful land of the everliving, the "Elysium of the Pagan Irish". The father, who happens at the time to be near, does not see the supernatural visitor, and, astonished to hear his son holding converse apparently with thin air, calls his druid to drive away what he supposes to be an evil spirit.

Although many erroneous views have prevailed in the past regarding the druidic system among the early Celts, one thing is pretty certain. The druids played a prominent part in their social and religious life, acting as intermediaries between them and the supernatural beings with which they peopled the unseen world. According to Alexandre Bertrand, "les druides étaient en Irlande, comme en Gaule, magiciens, devins, médecins, professeurs, conseillers des rois".⁸¹ The identification of the supernatural visitors by the druid would therefore have been easily understood by those who heard the love-story of Bude and Estiu. This of course would not have been the case after the tale passed into the hands of the Christianized peoples of England or the Continent. The elderly female who acted as *duenna* to the youthful wives of twelfth century England and France was doubtless a personage but too well known to the pretty women of romantic tendencies in Marie's day, and the substitution of such a figure for the druid in the original story would contribute largely to the interest and intelligibility of the narrative without disturbing its dramatic development.⁸²

⁸¹ *La Religion des Gaulois*, etc., 1897, p. 277 ff. Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides*, etc., 1906, p. 115 f.; and Joyce, *Social History*, 1903, I, p. 237; Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, 1905, p. 76 f.; Dottin, *Manuel*, 1906, p. 273; Rhys, *Proceedings of the Brit. Acad.*, 1903-4, p. 55.

⁸² A figure corresponding in a measure to the *duenna* in *Yonac* is found in connection with a motif somewhat resembling the *Inclusa* in the *Longes mac n-Uisnig*, to which reference has already been made. Miss Hull has called attention to the fact that the heroine's guardian, a druidess, "has in [a] late version lost her repellent qualities; the terrible magician of the early tales has changed into a fond and foolish old nurse who cannot resist the pleadings of her charge" (*Folk-Lore*, XV (1904), p. 25).

In the lay of *Yonec* the discovery of the bird-lover results in his final disappearance. This is a common feature of early Celtic stories dealing with other-world beings. The disappearance is moreover usually interpreted as the death of the fairy being, as in the French poem and in the *Dinnshenchus* of *Snám da Én*. In several modern analogues to the lay of *Yonec*, however, the story ends happily. The bird-lover on being wounded departs, it is true, but he is usually found later by his mistress, who then becomes his wife.⁸³ If this represents, as it probably does, a comparatively late stage of development, the agreement of the lay of *Yonec* with the *Dinnshenchus* in giving the opening episode a tragic termination must be regarded as additional evidence that Marie used a very early form of the story and followed her original closely.⁸⁴

The trap utilized by the jealous husband in *Yonec* finds no parallel in early Celtic literature, so far as I have discovered.^{84a} It may, as Johnston suggests,⁸⁵ have been taken from some such tale as *L'Oiseau bleu*, but in any case it cannot be regarded as having certainly formed a part of the original story.

THE JOURNEY TO THE LOVER'S KINGDOM

After the disappearance of Muldumarec, the heroine of *Yonec* manages to get out of a window from which she has, though so long imprisoned, apparently never before attempted to escape, leaps twenty feet to the earth, and tracks her lover by the blood-stains to a cave in the side of a hill, through which she passes into "un mult bel pre" (v. 360). Nearby she perceives a city seemingly built entirely of silver. On entering she sees no inhabitants in the streets, but later, after passing through two rooms

⁸³ But see the Portuguese folk-tale mentioned by Johnston, *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XX (1905), p. 334.

⁸⁴ Cf Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

^{84a} A somewhat similar device is used by a lover to wound an old woman who spies on himself and mistress in a text found in the 15th cent. *Book of Fermoy (Voyage of Bran*, I, p. 78). See further Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, I, p. 220, n. 2.

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 330.

of the palace, in each of which a knight is sleeping, she finds in a third her dying lover, reclining on a gorgeous bed, about which candles burn day and night. After receiving certain gifts and instructions from Muldumarec she returns home, apparently making the whole journey within one day.

The lack of skill evinced in the narration of this episode is evident, even to a superficial observer.⁸⁶ The inconsistencies look like the result of an attempt to rationalize a frankly marvellous story in order to fit it into a tale with which it originally had no connection.

Muldumarec, as we have seen, is probably in origin "en sid-konung, en herskare öfver dessa mystika väsen, hvarmed den keltiska och särskildt den iriska fantasien befolkade de urgamla grafhögarne, 'sids'";⁸⁷ the hillside entrance to his kingdom, the beautiful grassy plain, the gorgeous decorations of the mysterious city, and its deserted appearance are all well-known features of the Celtic other-world; and the journey thither made by a mortal in search of some person or object is one of the most familiar types of Irish literature.⁸⁸ There are also several early Irish stories in which a wife is carried to the other world by a supernatural lover. We have already had occasion to refer to the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, in which the wife of King Eochaid is abducted by the supernatural Midir, who has the power of transforming himself into a bird.⁸⁹ One of the *Dinnshenchus* poems found in the *Book of Leinster* and other manuscripts, tells how Midir also carried off Ess, daughter of Etain, to the subterranean fairy palace of Bri Léith, and kept her there nine years.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 2d. edn., 1900, p. 379 f.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ahlstrom, *Studier i den fornfranska Laislitteraturen*, 1892, p. 92.

⁸⁸ On the other world journey in Celtic and mediaeval Romance, see A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain, A Study*, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), and *Publins. of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XX (1905), p. 673 ff. Cf. Schofield, *Studies and Notes*, V (1896), p. 221 ff.

⁸⁹ According to the *Lecan* version of the story of Tuag, the fairy man intended to carry off the lady *i Tir Banthsuthain*, "into the Land of Eternal Women," the Celtic other-world (*Revue Celtique*, XVI (1895), p. 151).

⁹⁰ *Publins. of the Royal Ir. Acad.*, Todd Lect. Ser. VII (1900), p. 2 ff.; IX, p. 2 ff.

Similar accounts are contained in the *Echtra Cormaic i Tir Tairngiri* (Adventures of Cormac in the Land of Promise),⁹¹ which is probably older than the fourteenth century *Yellow Book of Lecan* in which it is preserved, and in the *Echtra Thaidgmeic Chein* (Adventures of Tadg, son of Cian),⁹² and the *Leighes Coise Chein* (Healing of Cian's Leg),⁹³ neither of which can, unfortunately, be assigned to a very early date.

In the light of these facts, it seems not improbable that the visit to the lover's kingdom in *Yonec* is based on a Celtic account of a journey to the other-world, made by the lady alone or in company with her fairy-lover, and that the attempt of some unskilful narrator to connect it with the preceding and following episodes resulted in certain incongruities in the narrative.

THE SEMI-SUPERNATURAL SON

In the lay of *Yonec* the bird-lover, before his final departure, tells his mistress that she is pregnant by him and will bear a son who will be brave and valiant, and shall be called *Yonec*.

⁹¹ *Ir. Texte*, III, 1, p. 211 ff.

⁹² *Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 390 ff.

⁹³ *Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 332 ff. A passage in the Rawlinson *Dinnshenchus* tells how Englic, the daughter of Elcmaire, was carried off by the "Bright Folk and the fairy hosts" of Ireland. She is said to have been in love with the well known fairy chief Oengus mac ind Oc (*Folk-Lore*, III (1892), p. 506). Cf. *ibid.*, p. 473. It is possible also that we have perverted examples of this type of story in one of the *Dinnshenchus* poems (*Publins. of the Royal Ir. Acad.*, Todd Lecture Ser. VII (1900), p. 46 f.), and in the *Tochmarc Becfola* (*Publins. Royal Ir. Acad.*, Ir. MSS Ser., I, 1). On the importance of abduction stories in early Irish literature, see Miss Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, London, II (1913), p. 292 ff. The lay of *Sir Orfeo* gives an account of the abduction of a mortal woman by a supernatural lover. For a comparison of this poem with the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, see Kittredge, *American Journal of Philol.*, VII (1886), p. 191 ff. On the famous story of the abduction of Guinevere and its Celtic analogues, see K. G. T. Webster, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVI, p. 340 ff. See also *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX, pp. 92, 110; Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, VIII (1903), pp. 261, 190, n. 2; *Romania*, XII, p. 459 ff.; Fletcher, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, X (1906), pp. 94, 95, n. 1. See further *Perceval* (v. 12, 954 ff.), and Child, *Ballads*, n. 30, I, p. 374 ff.

This son is to avenge his father's death. When the lady later visits Muldumarec's kingdom, the lover gives her a ring which will cause her husband to forget her short comings,⁹⁴ and a sword which is to be given to their son on a specified occasion. She then returns home and continues to live quietly with her husband until the son, who is born in due time, grows to manhood and is knighted. The three then visit together the lover's kingdom, and the son, on receiving the sword, fulfills his father's prophecy.

This episode, which finds more or less close analogues in the lays of *Tydorel*, *Doon*, *Sire Degarre*, and *Sir Gowther*, can be paralleled in early Irish literature. It will be recalled that in two of the Irish stories summarized above—the *Compert Mongain* and the *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*—the lover, after enjoying the lady's favors, predicts that a son shall be born, and on departing leaves a name for him, in the former account foretelling also his future greatness; but the resemblance in these cases goes no farther. A much more striking parallel is found in the so-called "Second" Battle of Moytura (*Cath maíge Turedh*), which, though contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript *Harleian 5280*, pretty certainly belongs to a much earlier period, and may even antedate the tenth century.⁹⁵

Eri, a woman of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, is visited by a fairy lover "of fairest form", who comes to her across the sea in a mysterious vessel. The stranger, after making her his mistress, gives her a gold ring from his middle finger, and he "told her that she should not part with it by sale or by gift, save to one

⁹⁴ Miss Rickert compares the *Serglige Conchulainn*, in which the hero, after his separation from his fairy mistress Fand through the jealousy of his mortal wife, is forced by the druids to take a drink of forgetfulness, which causes him to lose all recollection of his amour with the *fée* (*Marie de France, Seven of her Lays*, 1901, p. 185). On magic rings, see Pietro Toldo, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI (1904), p. 623 f.

⁹⁵ On the possibility of dating the document earlier than the eleventh century, see Alfred Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II (1897), p. 173. See further Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII (1891), p. 52 f., and d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes depuis les Temps les plus anciens*, etc., 1904, p. 41 f. The saga has been ed. and trans. by Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 61 f.

whose finger it should fit". He tells her that he is Elothā, son of Delbaeth, King of the Fomorians, and that she shall bear a wonderful son, whose name shall be called Eochaid Bress. He then departs the way he came. The child is born, and in due time ascends the throne of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, but is deposed for injustice. His mother now finds that the ring fits his finger, and together the two visit the land of the Fomorians, and obtain their assistance against the *Tuatha Dé Danann*. The invaders are, however, defeated in the "Second" Battle of Moytura.

Another Irish tale of great interest in connection with the episode under investigation is the *Aidead Ainfr Aife* (Death of the Only Son of A.), which probably goes back at least to the ninth century.⁹⁶ It tells how Cuchulainn, the hero of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, visits the other world, obtains the favors of Aife, a noted supernatural Amazon, and returns to the land of mortals, leaving her pregnant.⁹⁷ [Before departing he gives a name to the child that shall be born],⁹⁸ and leaves a ring, with instructions that when it fits the boy's finger, he shall be sent to Ireland to seek his father. This happens, but the son, on reaching Ireland, fights against his father without knowing him, and is slain by Cuchulainn's terrible spear, the *gai bulga*.

The similarity between these two pieces of Celtic tradition and the lay of *Yonec* hardly needs emphasizing. In all three

⁹⁶ Ed. and trans. from the *Yellow Book of Lecan* by Kuno Meyer (*Eriu*, I, p. 113 ff.). Cf. edn. by J. G. O'Keeffe (*ibid.*, p. 123 ff.). On the date, see Meyer, *op. cit.* The story is a variant of the well known Sohrab and Rustem theme, on which see M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, London, 1902, pp. 22 ff., 46 ff.

⁹⁷ Here, as in the lay of *Doon*, the lover is mortal and the mistress of fairy origin. In both the French and Irish accounts we have the story of a love affair between a mortal and a proud lady who requires severe tests of all her suitors. In both the lover departs, leaving his mistress pregnant, and entrusting her with a ring which is to be bestowed upon their offspring, which will be a boy. In both the son is to seek his father, which in due time happens. In both the recognition takes place during an encounter between father and son.

⁹⁸ The bracketed passage is taken from the *Tochmarc Emire* (*Arch. Rev.*, I (1888), p. 302), which refers to Cuchulainn's love affair with Aife.

a being from another world bestows his attentions upon a woman whom, on his departure, he leaves pregnant. He predicts that a son will be born, who (in *Yonec* and the *Cath Maige Turedh*) will be famous. In the Irish accounts the father at the same time gives the boy a name, and entrusts the mother with a ring which is to be bestowed upon the son on a specified occasion. In the lay of *Yonec* the gift of the sword is postponed to a later point in the story. In the *Aidead Ainfir Aife* the son, on the receipt of the ring, is to seek his father, and a similar command is implied in the *Cath Maige Turedh* by the fact that Eochaid Bress visits Elotha's kingdom, making the journey in company with his mother, as also happens in the lay of *Yonec*. The recognition by means of the sword or ring is preserved only in *Sire Degarre*, *Doon* and *Milun*, but it must certainly have existed originally in the *Caith Maige Turedh* and the *Aidead Ainfir Aife*, otherwise the ring and the instructions accompanying it would have no significance. It is therefore probable that it formed part of the original story which was worked into the plot of *Yonec*, but which was at the same time altered to facilitate the introduction of the revenge motive, to be spoken of in a moment. On the basis of the comparisons just made this early form of the story may be reconstructed as follows: A (fairy) lover visits a mortal woman, and on departing predicts that she shall become by him the mother of a wonderful son. The lover also gives the child a name, and leaves with the mother a recognition-token (perhaps a ring), which on a specified occasion is to be delivered to the son, who is then to search for his father in the latter's country, using the gift as a means of identification. This happens. The son is born, in due time receives the gift, and (possibly in company with his mother), seeks his father, and the three are happily united.

Without undertaking the perhaps impossible task of determining where this story had its beginning, we may regard its occur-

rence in Irish literature of a high degree of antiquity⁹⁹ and in Breton lays having other points in common with Celtic literature, as an indication that it at least passed through Celtic hands before it influenced the lay of *Yonec*.

THE REVENGE MOTIF

In *Yonec* the lady, after returning with the sword and ring from her lover's kingdom, continues to live with her husband until her son is born, grows to manhood, and is knighted. The mother, husband, and son while on a journey to Caerleon, happen to stop in the lover's kingdom at a monastery where the latter is buried. The mother now tells the story of her secret love and gives the sword to her son, who in accordance with his father's prediction at once beheads her husband. The lady falls dead on the tomb of her lover, and the son becomes heir to his father's possessions.

This section of the story bears little similarity to any of the Celtic tales summarized above. In the *Cath Maige Turedh* and the *Aidead Ainfir Aife*, it is true, the son finally visits his father's land, but the results in the two cases differ from each other and from that in the lay of *Yonec*. Stories of revenge are by no means uncommon in early Celtic literature, and it is entirely possible that the revenge motif which forms an important part of the final episode of *Yonec*, got attached to the story before it passed out of Celtic hands. It is, however, found in none of the modern versions of the tale of the bird-lover,¹⁰⁰ a fact which speaks somewhat against its having belonged to the story at a very early date.

⁹⁹ Alfred Nutt argues for the existence among both the Goidelic and Brythonic Celts of the British Isles, of a "tale of a wonder-child, begotten upon a mortal mother by a supernatural father:—" *Voyage of Bran*, I (1895), p. 28; cf. F. L. Ravenel, *Publins. of the Mod. Lang. Assn. of America*, XX (1905), p. 166. On the ancient Gaulish belief in supernatural birth, see Camille Jullian, *Recherches sur la Religion Gauloise* (*Bibl. des Universités du Midi*, Fascicule VI), Bordeaux, 1903, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ See Miss Rickert, *Marie de France, Seven of her Lays*, 1901, p. 186.

It should also be observed that this part of the lay bears no such indications of other-worldness as marked the heroine's first visit to Muldumarec's kingdom.¹⁰¹ The journey is made on horseback, and is apparently of considerable extent, for the party stop to rest at a monastery, where the lover happens to be buried. Here the closing scene very appropriately takes place. The whole proceeding is quite in accordance with possible human experience, and may be, as Miss Rickert suggests, merely "a human story of murder and vengeance"¹⁰² blended with the preceding episode, which, as we have seen above, perhaps told how the son set out with his token to seek his supernatural father.

CONCLUSION

This discussion brings out the following facts. 1) There existed in early Celtic literature a type of story in which a supernatural lover visits the land of mortals, appears in the form of a bird to a mortal wife, forms a union with her, is discovered by the aggrieved husband, and is wounded or slain. 2) In another type the fairy lover, after making the woman his mistress, departs, first predicting that she shall bear a famous son, giving the child a name, and leaving with the mother a ring or other token to be bestowed upon him on a specified occasion. The son is then to seek his father in the latter's kingdom. This happens, and the son is recognized by the token. 3) In still another type of story the woman is carried off to the other-world by her fairy lover. If we combine these three under the influence of the *Inclusa* motif, introducing the device of the barbed irons as a means of wounding the lover, the result would agree pretty closely with the plot of Marie's lay, minus the revenge motif. The death of the lover (as in *type 1*), and the birth of a son (as in *type 2*), would naturally suggest the addition of this feature. The lover's gift to his mistress, whose visit

¹⁰¹ Cf. Ahlström, *Studier i den fornfranska Laislitteraturen*, 1892, p. 92.

¹⁰² *Marie de France, Seven of her Lays*, 1901, p. 186. Cf. Ahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

to his kingdom may be taken from *type 3*, then naturally becomes a sword with which the son is to revenge his father's death, and the ring, when proper virtues are attributed to it, may be used in quieting the jealous husband, with whom Marie, and doubtless many who had told the story before her, had little sympathy.

These observations are made in the full realization that several features in the lay of *Yonac* which have been paralleled in early Celtic literature, are to be met with also in Classical or Oriental tradition, or elsewhere. The evidence in favor of Celtic origin is of a cumulative nature, and its value rests, not on this or that feature common to Celtic tradition and the lay of *Yonac*, but on a series or combination of features, and the peculiar way in which they are treated.

TOM PEETE CROSS.

A NOTE ON PHORMIO

In *Phormio*, lines 354 to 356, we read:

- Ph. neque eius patrem se scire qui fuerit? Ge. negat.
 Dem. ipsum esse opinor de quo agebam: sequimini.
 [Ph. nec Stilphonem ipsum scire qui fuerit? Ge. negat.]
 And a little lower down, lines 380 ff., we read:
 Dem. quem amicum tuom ais fuisse istum, explana mihi,
 et qui cognatum me sibi esse diceret.
 Ph. proinde expiscare quasi non nesses. Dem. nossem?
 Ph. ita.
 Dem. ego me nego: tu qui ais redige in memoriam.
 Ph. eho tu, sobrinum tuom non noras? Dem. enicas.
 dic nomen. Ph. nomen? Dem. maxume. quid nunc
 taces?
 Ph. perii, hercle, nomen perdidi. Dem. quid ais? Ph. Geta,
 si meministi id quod olim dictumst, subice. hem.
 non dico. quasi non nesses, temptatum advenis.
 Dem. ego autem tempto? Ge. Stilpo. Ph. atque adeo quid
 mea? Stilpost.

Bentley regarded the bracketed line as an interpolation because it repeats the content of line 354, and because the mention of the name Stilpo seems to be contradicted by the second passage quoted. Following Bentley, Fleckeisen, Dziatzko,¹ Ashmore, Elmer, Sargeaunt have rejected the line.²

It seems to me the line should be retained. Its rejection weakens most decidedly the comedy of the whole passage.

The situation is briefly as follows: In the absence of Demipho and his brother Chremes, Antipho, the son of the former, has fallen in love with and wishes to marry the orphan Phanium. Phormio proposes a plan whereby he himself shall go before the judges, make the claim that he knew the father of the girl,

¹ ad loc. V. 356 lässt sich weder mit V. 354 noch mit V. 386 vereinbaren und ist daher mit Recht von Bentley für unecht erklärt worden.

² And possibly others; I have had access only to the texts of those named.

assert that Antipho is a near relative of hers, and demand that in accordance with the law Antipho be forced to marry her. The plan is successfully carried out, and the marriage takes place. Demipho on his return is outraged. Accompanied by his advisers, he seeks an interview with Phormio. In the scene before us he is demanding of Phormio an explanation of the trumped-up relationship with Phanium. Geta is playing the double part of backing up Phormio while pretending to share Demipho's indignation.

Phormio, skillfully anticipating the old man, expresses astonishment that Demipho does not know who the father of the girl was. In these circumstances, the fact that the bracketed line is a repetition of the content of the second line preceding can hardly be taken as an argument for its rejection. Astonishment, especially pretended astonishment, most frequently expresses itself in repetition. Besides, not all of the line is repetition; it makes the very important addition of the name Stilpo.

On this point we may accept one of two hypotheses: either that Phormio is suggesting on the spur of the moment the first name that pops into his head, or that he is giving the name he had undoubtedly been called upon to give when he appeared before the judges. And it makes almost no difference at all which hypothesis we accept. The important thing to bear in mind is that in this line for the first time the name is given to the audience. It is perfectly obvious, it seems to me, that the comedy of the dialogue is inestimably heightened, if Phormio, when pressed by Demipho, forgets the name he has given just two minutes before, and if the audience has actually heard him give the name. The rejection of the line means the loss of both these elements of fun.

Moreover, it is expressly stated that the name has already been given: Phormio calls on Geta to prompt him *si meministi id quod olim dictumst* (v. 387). It is possible, of course, that this refers to some other occasion when Geta had heard the name, as, for example, before the judges. But it is more than doubtful whether that would "get over" to the audience. And if the

audience is not in possession of the name, the fun is certainly in large measure destroyed.

Zeunius makes the interesting comment on Bentley's rejection of the line: *Male. Nam mendax perturbatusque non semper memor est dictorum. Fere etiam ubi quis de rebus laborat, solent nomina fugere.*

The psychology of this observation is unquestionably correct, but I doubt if we are to assume that the whole of Phormio's speech is a lie. It is a very striking fact that the name here given by Phormio is the very same name as that assumed by Chremes on the occasions of his visits to his "other" wife in Lemnos (v. 740). Stilpo is actually the name Phanium knew her father by. Is it not likely that from the first Phormio knew the name of the girl's father? Donatus tells us whence he could have learned it: *Scire debemus hoc nomen non fictum a parasito, sed auditum a puella, quae uxor ducta sit, dici.* If this thought was in the poet's mind, the daring device of causing Phormio to forget the name in the dialogue in question is all the more interesting, although the poet may have been taking too much for granted in supposing that the audience could think quickly enough to appreciate it. But whether the audience could explain the source of Phormio's information or not, the fun of the passage depends mainly on the fact that Phormio himself gave the name and then straightway, within the next two minutes, forgot it again.

GEORGE HOWE.

AUTHORSHIP AND INTERPRETATION OF THE 'ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

τοῦ Αἰσχύλου βίου

At the end of the Medicean manuscript of Aeschylus there is a brief literary criticism of Aeschylus, entitled ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας. This title is written as a rubric. The text, entire or partly abridged, is found in all the editions of the *Vita Aeschyli*. (Sections 17-18 *De Aeschyli Vita et Poesi Testimonia Veterum*, by Fred. Schoell, incorporated in Ritschl's *Aeschyli Septem adversus Thebas*. Leipsig. 1875.)

Unfortunately, few commentators have ever treated these sections of the *Vita Aeschyli*. Those who have treated them have done so in the briefest manner. The bibliography is meager and scattered. Frederick Schoell, who has so ably gathered together the "Testimonia Veterum" for the *Vita Aeschyli*, made no comment on these sections of the *Vita*. F. Susemihl (*De Vita Aeschyli Quaestiones Epicriticae*) gives them only scant notice. In his edition of Aeschylus and the *Vita*, Paley, though he translates the rest of the *Vita*, furnishes a translation of only the first section of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας, and adds no comment.

I submit below what testimony of the ancient and modern commentators in regard to these sections I was able to find. I attempt, too, to supply an interpretation of this passage.

I give a composite text but I have followed, as far as possible, the reading of cod. M. of Aeschylus. I have added but few emendations.

My references to Aeschylus are from Sidgwick's *Aeschyli Tragoediae*. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1899.

TEXT

ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας

(1.) Ταύτη καὶ ἄριστος εἰς τραγωδίαν κρίνεται Αἰσχύλος, ὅτι εἰσάγει πρόσωπα μεγάλα καὶ ἀξιοχρεα. καὶ τινες ἤδη τῶν τραγωδιῶν αὐτῷ διὰ μόνων οἰκονομοῦνται θεῶν, καθάπερ οἱ Προμηθεῖς· τὰ γὰρ δράματα συμπληροῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας θεῖα πάντα πρόσωπα.—

(2.) 'Ιστέον ὡς οὐ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον ἐν Καυκάσῳ φησὶ δεδέσθαι Προμηθέα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις τέρμασι τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὴν 'Ιὼ λεγομένων ἔστι συμβαλεῖν.

(3.) τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ μὲν ἐστὶ διεξοδικὰ καὶ διηγηματικά, καὶ ἀπαγγελτικά, ἃ δὲ δραματικά καὶ μιμητικά, ἃ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, ἃ δὲ μόνον δραματικά. αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ λέγει ἅμα τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ αὐτὰ τὸ κῦρος ἔχει. διὰ τοῦτο αἱ τῶν δραμάτων ἐπιγραφαὶ προγράφονται τοῦ ποιητοῦ· Νιόβη Αἰσχύλου. 'Ομήρου δὲ 'Ιλιάς· μικταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ποιήσεις αὐτῷ.

2. cod. M. δαιμόνων; Robortellius coni. διὰ μόνων. Corregit Ritschellius διὰ μόνων.

3. τὰ γὰρ . . . ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ Paley.

6-8. Omisere Ritschellius, Weilius, et ceteri. 6. Vid. schol. ad Prom. I.

9. τῶν ποιημάτων cod. M.: coniecit Robortellius τὰ εἶδη τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ μὲν et cetera.

13. cod. M. αὐτῶν *non* αὐτοῦ cum στ. Weilius Coniecit αὐτῷ bene mihi acceptum. Robortellius recentissimi grammatici adiecit excerptum, servatum etiam in cod. Oxon. Vid. *Aeschyli Septem adversus Thebas*, edid. F. Ritschellius, p. 7, not. 2.

TRANSLATION

FROM THE LITERARY HISTORY

In this respect also Aeschylus is judged to be the best in tragedy, because he introduces great and dignified characters. Some of his plays, indeed, are treated by him through the gods alone, as those plays entitled "Prometheus"; for the oldest and most honored of the gods fill up entirely these dramas; and all the characters, both on the stage and in the orchestra, are divine.

¹Ritter and Westermann add, after μικταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ποιήσεις αὐτῷ, two other sections numbered in Ritter 21 and 22, which are not found in codices Gudianus, in Oxoniensis, nor in M. These sections have in reality come down to us with Robortello's edition as the only source. It was, however, put together by the same scribe who compiled ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας. Whether it is from the same source, however, that he made use of for sections 1 and 3 of the *Vita Aeschyli* we can not well tell.

2) It is to be noted that Aeschylus does not say that Prometheus, according to the common tradition, was bound on Mount Caucasus; but near the European boundaries of Oceanus, as can be inferred from the responses he makes to Io.

3) Of these poems, some are full of details, descriptive and narrative; others, dramatic and imitative; still others combined of both; while others are only dramatic; for the characters themselves act and speak at the same time, and they themselves are supreme. The titles of the dramas are, therefore, written before the name of the poet, as the Niobe of Aeschylus; but we say Homer's Iliad; for the poems of the latter are mixed.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF SECTION 2

Sec. 2. *ιστέον ὥς ἔστι συμβαλεῖν*, is omitted by most editors. It occurs also at the bottom of the forty-fourth page of the Medicean Ms. of Aeschylus, under the eleventh verse of the Prometheus; and consequently some editors, thinking that it belongs to the Hypothesis of the Prometheus, have omitted it here. In the *Vita Aeschyli* of codex M., however, it is incorporated into the text of the part inscribed *ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας*. In cod. M., line 4, page 85, ends with *πρόσωπα* and is followed by a colon and a dash; line 5 begins with *ιστέον ὥς*; then after *συμβαλεῖν* come another colon and a dash. Line 6 begins *τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ μὲν κ. τ. λ.*

In the Prometheus, in which the sentence *ιστέον συμβαλεῖν* is written at the bottom of page 44 of cod. M., we have *ιστέον ὅτι* over against *ιστέον ὥς* of the *ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας*; and besides, the chirography of these two lines in the MS., below vs. 11 of the Prometheus, is the same hand that wrote the scholia, viz m2. It was an after-thought of this writer of the scholia, who took it from the *ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας*, and who thought it a good note to place here.²

² From the characteristics of the hand of the *ιστέον ὅτι συμβαλεῖν* in the Prometheus, I should be almost certain that this hand was not m1, who wrote the Hypothesis to the Prometheus. Wecklein reads it, however, in his edition of the Prometheus at the bottom of the

Putting the weight, however, as I do, in cod. M., and owing to the manner in which it is written at the bottom of page 44 of cod. M. as by m2, I should also follow Sidgwick, and consider ἰστῆον ὥς συμβαλεῖν as originally written in the ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας. Then, too, it has specific reference to the Prometheus in sec. 1, and is easily reconciled; for in the preceding lines, the writer has been discussing the particular examples contained in the plays entitled "Prometheus".³

Many editors of the *Vita Aeschyli* wish to take the phrase ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας with the preceding sentence of the *Vita*, ἀναδιδάξαι τοὺς καὶ λίαν εὐδοκίμειν and to begin the next sentence with Ταῦτη καὶ. Others read ἔκ τῆς μ. ἱστορίας with Ταῦτη καὶ ἄριστος. Näke⁴ says that ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας was inserted by the scribe between εὐδοκίμειν and ταῦτη, as the title of the following, just as ὁ βίος Αἰσχύλου is written at the beginning of the *Vita*; and he adds that no one had thought of this before his time, simple though it be.⁵ Westermann, too, thinks that ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας should be written as a rubric. This opinion and the arguments by which Schoell tries to prove that the words ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας should not be joined to the preceding, but taken as a rubric, as Westermann does, are very plausible.⁶ Näke does not follow Susemihl, Sidgwick and Ritschl in writing ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας as a rubric, but merely leaves it in the text, set off by periods.⁷

Hypothesis. Neither Westermann nor Ritschl keeps this section in his text.

³ Προμηθεὺς λύομενος, Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης, Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος, Προμηθεὺς πυρκαεὺς.

⁴ *Opuscula Philologica*, p. 201. Cod. Gudianus supports Näke's theory.

⁵ Näke: "Sententia tam plana, ut mirum esse debeat, si nemini ante me in mentem venerit".

⁶ Compare Susemihl (*De Vita Aeschyli Quaestiones Epicritae*): "Magis speciosae sunt ceterae rationes, quibus non pro inscriptione sed pro scriptione habenda esse verba Vitae ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας demonstrare Schoellius conatur".

⁷ Westermann also punctuates thus in his text, though he thinks it a rubric.

Discussion of the Meaning of; and Notes on Sections 1-3

Let us now discuss at length the interpretation of some of the subtleties of this curious piece of literary criticism appended to the *Vita Aeschyli*.

1) καθάπερ οἱ Προμηθεΐς—"as the plays entitled 'Prometheus' ". —This refers to the four plays of Aeschylus⁸ :—(1) Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης, which alone is extant; (2) Προμηθεὺς πυρφόρος, which refers to Prometheus's stealing the fire for mortal's use, though the argument is uncertain;⁹ (3) Προμηθεὺς πυρκαεὺς; (4) Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος.

The Chorus is here composed of Titans.¹⁰ Prometheus is bound on Mount Caucasus.¹¹ Heracles¹² is, perhaps, the main character. Herein, the Titans address Prometheus. In the Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης Hermes taunts¹³ Prometheus with the fact that he may be freed when some god shall sacrifice himself to endure the pangs of hell, and be willing to go to gloomy Hades, to the murky depths of Tatarus. This, τῶ, is no vaunt. In all these plays the gods are the leading characters of the dramas.

(2.) οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν θεῶν: The reference here to "the oldest and most honored of the gods" is surely to the divine characters in the four plays concerning Prometheus: Oceanus of Prometheus Bound; the Titans in the Chorus of the Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος; Kronos; Zeus's usurping the power of Kronos;¹⁴ Atlas; Hephaistos; and the other gods of old. We might even, perhaps, con-

⁸ Vid. Harry's *Prometheus*, Introduction, p. 92 ff. I have followed the order of the catalogue of the plays in cod. M. Vid. Ritschl's *Septem*, Introduction, p. 24. Vid. also W. Bannier, *Reinisches Museum* (N. F.) 1900, vol. LV. p. 479. Also A. Dieterich, *Rh. Mus.* (N. F.) 1893, vol. XLVIII, p. 11 ff. Προμηθεὺς πυρκαεὺς belongs to the lost fifth column of cod. M.; (Vid. Dieterich loc. cit.) and is considered a Satyr play.

⁹ Sidgwick, *Aeschylus's Fragments*, 208-208 a.

¹⁰ Not in Cod. M. Vid. Sidgwick, *Aeschylus's Fragments*, 206-207.

¹¹ Fragment 190 of Arrians *Periplus* (Hudson, 99.22)!

¹² Compare Cicero's *Tusc. Disput.*, 2.10; 23-25, where Cicero says: "Affixus ad Caucasum haec dixit et cetera".

¹³ Compare Aeschylus's *Prometheus* vss. 1007-1036.

¹⁴ Compare Wecklein's *Hypothesis to the Prometheus of Aeschylus*.

sider Heracles, and Prometheus himself, as being among οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν θεῶν.¹⁵

(3.) καὶ τινες ἤδη τῶν τραγωδιῶν κ.τ.λ. The writer of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας speaks of the working out of the plots of some of Aeschylus' plays by means of divine will and fate, decisions made by omnipotent Zeus and carried out by his retinue of gods and goddesses. Let us here compare and consider the characters of the Prometheus. Κράτος and Βία are considered gods, the personification of overwhelming force, physical force brought to bear upon Prometheus, Force and Strength, ever admired by the Greeks, deified and personified. They act parts, although Βία as a character is mute, and only referred to. Hephaistos and Prometheus are immortalized heroes of mythology.¹⁶ 'Οκεανός, Ἑρμης, Γῆ, Ἑρακλῆς, and the chorus, composed of nymphs, the daughters of Oceanus, make up the rest of the cast. The nymphs throughout Greek literature were considered divine.¹⁷

(4.) ἰστέον ὡς κ.τ.λ.. The scene¹⁸ of the drama is laid in some barren place on a solitary crag, near the outskirts of the world,¹⁹

¹⁵ Prometheus calls himself a god in *Prometheus Bound*, vs. 119:

ὄρατε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν
τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, κ.τ.λ..

¹⁶ Compare Aeschylus's description of him in his *Prometheus*.

¹⁷ Compare Theocritus (von Wilam. Moell.), VII. 135; I. 67-69. Also Bernhard Schmidt, *Das Volksleben d. Neugriechen*.

¹⁸ Compare Fred. D. Allen, *A. J. P.*, vol. XIII. p. 51-61; von Wilamowitz, *Die Bühne des Aischylos*, in *Hermes*, vol. XXI, p. 603 ff.; B. Foss, *De loco in quo Prometheus apud Aeschylum vinctus est*. (Dissert.) 1862. Meyer P. J., *Aeschyli Prometheus vinctus quo in loco agi videatur*. (Dissert.) 1861. Xanthopoulos. K. Αἰσχύλου Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης Ἑμμετρος παράφρασις κ. τ. λ.

¹⁹ *Prometheus*, 281 ff. καὶ νῦν ἐλαφρῷ ποδὶ κραυγνόςουτον

θάκον προλιπούς', αἰθέρα θ' ἄγνων

πόρον οἰωνῶν, ὀκρῶσση

χθονὶ τηδε πελῶ, τοὺς σοὺς δὲ πόνους κ. τ. λ.

Also *Prometheus*, 270 ff.

οὐ μὴν τι ποιναῖς γ' ὀφόμεν τοιαῖσι με

κατισχναεῖσθαι πρὸς πέτραις πεδαρσίοις,

τυχόντ' ἐρήμου τοῦδ' ἀγέιτονος πάγου.

Here we can see the character of Prometheus confirmed.

perhaps in Scythia, on the very edge of the continent, at the boundaries of Europe and the Ocean. Thus Oceanus is appropriately introduced.

P. J. Meyer, in his dissertation,²⁰ says: "Persuasum habeo spectatores primis sex versibus fabulae recitatis statim de Caucaso cogitasse". Yet in regard to the crux of the whole matter, according to F. D. Allen, we have no definite evidence, even in the Prometheus, that the scene was laid and enacted on Mount Caucasus, unless we regard as such the belief of Cicero and Strabo, who had the plays extant at the time before them; and the opinion of antiquity generally that Caucasus was the place of Prometheus's punishment. Allen quotes section 2 of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας as evidence, but accepts it only as the foot-note (under l. 11 of the Prometheus in cod. M.) under the Hypothesis of the Prometheus.

(5.) πρὸς τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις τέρμασι τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ κ. τ. λ. This is vouched for in the Prometheus in the very opening verses of the play.²¹ We know, too, that Prometheus was bound in the West, from what he says to Io,²² just as the writer of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας states that ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἰὼ λεγομένων ἔστι συμβαλεῖν.

6. οὐ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον ἐν Καυκάσῳ φασὶ δεδέσθαι κ. τ. λ. Here the scholiast, or writer of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας, is right in saying that Prometheus was not bound on Mount Caucasus, as the general tradition states. For the treatment of Aeschylus,²³ at least from the general description of the place previously discussed, would disprove it, even if it were not for *Prometheus* 11.

²⁰ *Aeschyli Prometheus vinctus quo in loco agi videatur*. (Dissert.) 1861.

²¹ *Prometheus* 11., 1-2.

χθονὸς μὲν ἐς τηλουρὸν ἤκομεν πέδον
Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβατον εἰς ἐρημίαν.

²² *Prometheus*, 707 ff.

πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθ' ἐνδ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
στρέψασα σαντὴν στεῖχ' ἀνηρότους γυῖας.

²³ Yet in the *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus according to Arrian 1. c. 190, Prometheus was bound on Mount Caucasus: "Affixus ad Caucasum haec dixit—".

718-719. In giving his instructions to Io for her journey, Prometheus himself says that leaving the rocks on which he was bound and going eastward, she would reach the Scythians, and then beyond the Chalybes, she would come to the river Hybristis. Lines 718-719, however, settle the question absolutely as to whether he was bound on Mount Caucasus, or not.²⁴

(7.) ὥς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἰῶ λεγομένων ἔστι συμβαλεῖν This, apparently from the *Prometheus* itself, does not refer specifically to any one statement in the sentence, but generally to the whole sentence.

(8.) καὶ αὐτὰ τὸ κῦρος ἔχει.—The subject of ἔχει is πρόσωπα, who by acting and speaking gain favor for themselves, and not for the poet, by whom they were brought upon the stage. The poet remains hidden, and never speaks himself. As a result of this in giving the titles of fabulae, or any other literary productions, certain rules as to the arrangement of the words of the title were observed. In reference to the fabulae, the ancient custom was “fabulae alicuius”. At the time of the presentation of the drama, the author might oftentimes be unknown.²⁵ The name of the writer might temporarily be of little interest to the spectators. In giving the title, however, of such a book as the *Iliad*, Homer precedes the word *Iliad*, as Homer was known to all, and his fame was well established. Hence in order to explain such a custom the writer of this treatise has given two well known examples viz: Νιόβη Αἰσχύλου; and on the other hand Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάς. He prefaces his examples by διὰ τοῦτο αἱ τῶν δραμάτων ἐπιγραφαὶ προγράφονται τοῦ ποιητοῦ. The expression διὰ τοῦτο is used for the purpose of showing that it is a conclusion, drawn deductively from what precedes and not merely a detached didactic illustration. In his Preface to the *Andria* of Terence,²⁶ Donatus says: “Pronuntiataque est Andria Terentii (non Te-

²⁴ *Prometheus*, 718 ff.

δν μὴ περάσης, οὐ γὰρ εὐβάτος περᾶν,
πρὶν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν Καύκασον μόλῃς, ὁρῶν
ἑπιστον, ἔνθα ποταμὸς ἐκφυσῇ μένος — κ. τ. λ.

²⁵ Compare the preface to the *Andria* of Terence by Donatus.

rentii Andria) ob incognitum adhuc nomen poetae et minoris apud populum auctoritatis ac meriti". Still 'Ομήρου 'Ιλιάς may have been written as an apology for the statement made above, while the scribe, knowing the exceptions to this rule, corrects himself.²⁶

This troublesome phrase signifies, perhaps, that, since the characters on the stage are those who have the power to affect the audience by their words and dramatic action—even though they are the invention and fabrication of the author's brain—they nevertheless, gain the credit for themselves. The fantastic imagination and histrionic ability in depicting character is felt by the audience to be due to the stage skill of the characters themselves, and not to the ability of the author. The author is forgotten. He is, at least forgotten during the performance, and, perhaps, remembered only afterwards.

The play, the plot, and the portrayal of character are the most important parts of a drama. The author is, however, subordinated to a second place by the subtle power of the human mind to make unrealities real, and to compel reason to be subservient to imagination. By means of a transitional phrase διὰ τοῦτο, the author, therefore, whosoever he be, states that for this reason in giving the titles of plays, the author's name, since it is of less importance, follows the title of the play.

(9.) προγράφονται. Westermann thinks that between προγράφονται τοῦ ποιητοῦ and Νιόβη Αἰσχύλου something is lacking: he considers it faulty that examples should have been added so soon, before

²⁶ And yet the later plays of Terence are different. We find *Andria Terenti*, *Hauton Timorumenos Terenti*, *Eunuchus Terenti*; but in the last three plays—*Terenti Phormio*, *Terenti Hecyra*, *Terenti Adelphoe*. If this rule of Donatus is true, why does he not make note of the last three plays of Terence as exceptions? The Greek plays also violate this rule, e. g. Αἰσχύλου 'Αγαμέμνων. This is true, too, in the citations by scholiasts, e. g. παρὰ Αἰσχύλου ἐν τῷ Προμηθεΐ. I find, however, that the mss. give Εὐριπίδου 'Εκάβη (Vid Wecklein's *Hecuba*), and that Hypothesis I of Aristophanes' *Plutus* writes ἐπιγεγράφται δὲ τὸ δράμα Πλοῦτος 'Αριστοφάνους. Compare Schneidewin's article on the Hypothesis, *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft*, VI. S. 1, (1852).

sufficient explanation had been made to give the reader a full solution of the problem. Westermann further thinks, too, that these statements are epitomized and transferred from some other writer—an opinion I shall later show to be correct. "The scribe wished to say this," says Westermann, "that in producing dramas on the stage, since the characters themselves spoke and acted, the fabulae were entitled by the name of one of the characters who took part in the play, as for example the Niobe of Aeschylus, but otherwise poems that were not dramatic in their character were entitled differently, as Homer's *Iliad*".

(10.) We come now to the most important point of the whole meager piece, which I have, with due apology to the natural order of notation, purposely held back to the last.

τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ μὲν ἐστὶ κ.τ.λ. Here the author of the ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας of the *Vita Aeschyli* has given us four classes of ποιημάτων. Class I: The Descriptive and Narrative; Class II: Dramatic and Imitative; Class III: A combination of I and II; Class IV: The Dramatic alone.²⁷

This classification, though somewhat different from that of Plato's and though it is greatly abridged, goes back to *Res Publica*, 393 ff., where Plato, in deciding what poetry should be allowed in his ideal republic, gives us, first, a division of subject matter; then, a criticism of style. All later criticisms of literary works and style and even of form indubitably come directly or indirectly from these divisions and classifications laid down by Plato. So, first, let us consider Plato's discussion, which, in many aspects, is quite similar to section 3 of the ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας. I give a short synopsis of Plato's conception of the form of poetry:

"All composition is in a certain sense narrative, narrating things past, present, and future. Narration, in this sense may be either simple and unmixed or imitative; or, both simple and

²⁷ Compare section 3 of the ἔκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας. Weil in his reading of οὐδὲ for ἃ δὲ δραματικά etc. thus makes only three classes, a division which conforms more nearly to the classifications of Plato and Aristotle.

imitative.²⁸ Homer furnishes us an example of this third kind; his poetry is purely narrative when he is speaking in "propria persona"; it is imitative when he puts his own words into the mouth of any one of his characters. Tragedy and comedy are examples of the imitative style. The best example of the purely narrative, of the third or mixed variety is the epic."

Of his first classification, Plato says that all mythology and poetry is a narration of that which has been, is, or will be.²⁹ Then in order to classify more definitely the narration, Plato divides it into three classes or subdivisions,³⁰ viz: simple narration; imitation; or a combination of the two. Plato proceeds then to analyze the dramatic element in the epic. He discusses, first, the opening lines of Homer's *Iliad* as an example of the epic—the scene between Agamemnon and Chryses, where he points out that, in narration, the poet's character shows itself; but, when the poet takes, as it were, first the character of Chryses, for example, and then that of Agamemnon, in that case we should call the poem both narrative and imitative.³¹ Plato thinks the difference between pure narrative and the imitative is to be found by determining whether the poet appears before us always, and is never concealed, or whether he imitates the various characters, subordinating his own character to those of his work. Speaking here of the exact antithesis of such a condition,³² the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας has καὶ λέγει ἅμα τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ αὐτὰ τὸ κῦρος ἔχει; but αὐτὰ τὸ κῦρος ἔχει is, I think, only a shorter way of saying what Aristotle states in his *Ars Poetica*, 1448a.³³ Plato, then, in order to show what he means by simple narration,

²⁸ Compare Plato's *Res Publica*, 392 ff.

²⁹ Plato's *Rep.*, 392 d. ff.

³⁰ Plato's *Rep.*, 392 d. ff.

³¹ Plato's *Rep.*, 393 c.

³² *Rep.* 393 d: εἰ δὲ γε μηδαμοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύπτειτο ὁ ποιητής, πᾶσα ἂν αὐτῷ ἄνευ μιμήσεως ἡ ποιησίς τε καὶ διήγησις γεγонуῖα εἴη.

³³ Arist. "*Ars Poetica* 1448a: ὅθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαι τινες αὐτὰ φασιν, ὅτι μιμοῦνται δρῶντας. Compare the philology of δρᾶν and πράττειν.

as opposed to imitation, turns into *Oratio Obliqua* some examples, as it were, or simple narration of events.³⁴ The dramatic element comes in when the intermediate passages are omitted and the dialogue alone is left.³⁵ Tragedy and comedy, Plato thinks, are wholly imitative; while the dithyrambic and certain other kinds of poetry are altogether devoid of imitation. Epic poetry, according to him, falls under Class III of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας, a combination of Class I and II.³⁶ That poetry and art were a species of μίμησις was an accepted canon in Greece, even before the time of Plato. From this passage. Plato gradually deepens and intensifies the meaning of μίμησις in the *Republic*. Here, however, the word signifies a specific kind of style, the dramatic, as opposed to the narrative.³⁷ Let us compare with this Aristotles' discussion of the distinctions in art.³⁸

In his *Ars Poetica*, we have practically the same divisions that are given by Plato and that are found in the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας of the *Vita Aeschyli*, except that in the *Vita* we have four divisions.

Let us take up now the later works which deal with the divisions of literature. In some, we find three divisions; in others, there are only two; whereas the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας alone has these four divisions.

Compare *Photius e Proclo*, p. 981:

καὶ ὅτι τῆς ποιητικῆς τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ διηγηματικόν, τὸ δὲ μιμητικόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν διηγηματικὸν ἐμφέρεται δι' ἔπους ἰάμβου τε καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ μέλους, τὸ δὲ μιμητικὸν διὰ τραγωδίας σατύρων τε καὶ κωμωδίας.

Compare also Eustathius, in his commentary to Homer's *Iliad*.

³⁴ *Rep.*, 393 d.-394 a. and the conclusion, οὕτως, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ ἐταίρε. ἀνευ μιμήσεως ἁπλῇ διήγησις γίνεσθαι.

³⁵ Compare Plato's statement *Rep.*, 394 b.

³⁶ *Comp. Rep.*, 394 c.

³⁷ Compare διηγηματικά and ἀπαγγελτικά, as opposed to δραματικά and μιμητικά in section 3. See also Abeken's treatise on the various connotations of μίμησις (*De mīmēsi apud Platonem et Aristotelem Notatione*).

³⁸ Aristotle's *Ars Poetica*, 1448, a.

B, p. 199, where he makes three divisions.³⁹ τὴν μιμητικὴν, δραματικὴν τὴν ἀμιμητὸν, διηγηματικὴν καὶ μικτὴν.

Plato established these divisions of literature (ποιημάτων) and followed, perhaps, the general opinion of the time concerning art, music, and literature, as a species of μίμησις. Aristotle, although he enlarged on them, followed Plato's classifications.

Of those who wrote works from which such a passage as the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας could have been taken, we know from Suidas that Dicaearchus⁴⁰ was a pupil of Aristotle, and that discussions of music and literature greatly pleased both Aristotle and Dicaearchus. Dicaearchus who wrote a μουσικὴ ἱστορία treated at a great length this division of art. He must have, therefore, compiled a book from all the various treatises and discussions of the subject; yet his canons were indubitably Platonic.

Dionysius Minor of Halicarnassus, who may have been the author of this ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας, was necessarily influenced by the works of Aristotle and Dicaearchus, even if he were not directly influenced by the allied references scattered throughout Plato.

Rufus's work was, perhaps, merely an epitome of Dionysius' musical treatise. Yet, whether we accept Dicaearchus, Dionysius Minor, or Rufus, as the most probable author of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας it all probably goes back to Plato's divisions.

THE AUTHORSHIP

At the end of the *Vita Aeschyli* we have a critical discussion of Aeschylus, brief and imperfect though it be. Since this meager paragraph is found in many manuscripts, and especially in cod. M. of Aeschylus, some inquiry should be instituted as to its author. Before, however, we go into the details and try to find to whom the authorship of this section of the *Vita Aeschyli*

³⁹ See Aelius Quint. *De Musica*, II p. 87. ποιητικῆς μέρη μὲν μίμησις καὶ διήγησις. Synesius in Cabo makes this comment on μίμησις, and adds the universally accepted opinion of Plato.

⁴⁰ See Cicero, *ad Atticum*, II, 2; ib. VI, 2.

should be assigned, I shall state the varying opinions of the few scholars who have discussed these sections of the Vita.

Schoell:⁴¹ Taken from Dionysius Minor of Halicarnassus, or from an epitome of Rufus.

Paley:⁴² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or Rufus.

Westermann:⁴³ Perhaps from Dicaearchus; though Westermann prefers to believe that these three sections were taken from the musical history of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or Rufus.

Ritter:⁴⁴ In Ritter's judgment, the preceding sections of the Vita were taken from the commentaries of Didymus, on Aeschylus; but he adds, "iam sequitur alterum ex Musica Historica Dionysii.

Näke: Näke gives four probable authors; Stephanus of Byzantium,⁴⁵ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Rufus, and Dicaearchus.

⁴¹ Schoell Frid., *De locis nonnullis ad Aeschyli Vitam et ad Historiam tragoediae graecae pertinentibus epistula*. Gratulationschrift von Rud. und Fr. Schoell zu Geburtst. von Ad. Schoell, S. 37-65. Jena. 1876.

⁴² Paley F. A., *The Tragedies of Aeschylus*, (Fourth Edition). London. 1879.

⁴³ Westermann, *Vita Aeschyli*, but compare Meineke, *Quaestionum Scaenicarum Spectacula*, III. 2. He says that we know of a work by Dicaearchus, known as περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων, from the scholia to Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1403.

⁴⁴ Ritter, *Didymi Opuscula*, p. 161.

⁴⁵ For Stephanus of Byzantium, Näke brings forward Meineke's statement in his *Quaestionum Scaenicarum Spectacula*, Vol. III p. 5-6: "Post Jubam regem Tiberio et Nerone, imperatoribus, floruit Soteridas Epidaurus Pamphilare doctissimae matronae (v. *Prolog. ad Menandr.*, p. XXXIV) pater qui praeter ὑπομήματα εἰς Μενάνδρον tribus libris comprehensa, scripsit περὶ κωμῳδίας testatibus Endoc. p. 387, et Suidas Vol. III. 357, ubi qui testis advocatur Dionysius in μουσικῇ ἱστορίᾳ eum non diversum fuisse ab eo quem Suidas s. v. Ἀντιφάνης ubi de Antiphanis comici patria agitur ad patres vocat haut inepte comicas e Steph. Byz. v. Ὑδροειά p. 724, tibi de Euage poeta comico citatur Διονύσιος ἐκαστῷ τῷ τῷ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας.

DICAEOARCHUS

Let us now consider the testimony we have concerning Dicaearchus, and see whether the general character of this ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας of the *Vita Aeschylī* could come within the scope of his writings. (Compare Plutarch 1095.5)⁴⁶

ποῖος γὰρ ἂν αὐλὸς ἢ κιθάρα διηρμοσμένη πρὸς ᾧδὴν ἢ τις χόρος εὐρύσκα κέλαδον ἀκροσόφων ἀγνυμένων διὰ σωμάτων φθειγγόμενος, οὕτως ἡῤφρανεν ἐπίκουρον καὶ Μητρόδωρον ὡς Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Θεόφραστον καὶ Ἰερώνομον καὶ Δικαίαρχον οἱ περὶ χορῶν λόγοι καὶ διδασκαλῖαι καὶ τὰ δι' αὐλὸν προβλήματα καὶ ρυθμῶν καὶ ἁρμονιῶν; Suidas gives an account in his Lexicon, of two Dicaearchi.

(1.) Δικαίαρχος Ἰ Λακεδαιμόνιος γραμματικὸς ἀκουστῆς Ἀριστάρχου.

(2.)⁴⁷ Δικαίαρχος Φειδίου Σικελιώτης ἐκ πόλεως Μεσσήνης, Ἀριστοτέλους ἀκουστῆς φιλοσοφὸς καὶ ρήτωρ καὶ γεωμέτρης.

DIONYSIUS MINOR OF HALICARNASSUS

From the general character of the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας of the *Vita Aeschylī* and from the opinions of various scholars who have treated this passage, the most plausible theory is to assign the authorship to Dionysius Minor of Halicarnassus, inasmuch as we know, for a certainty, that he wrote a history of Music in thirty-six books.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ In his note on this passage, Reiske (ed. Jacob Johanes, Leipsig 1782.), Vol. X. p. 509., says that Dicaearchus' most important work was περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων (περὶ μουσικῆς ἢ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων) See also the scholia to Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1403. οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότεροι Ἑλλανικὸς καὶ Δικαίαρχος κ. τ. λ. . . . Δικαίαρχος μὲν ἐν τῷ περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων Ἑλλανικὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κραναιοῖς.

⁴⁷ The Dicaearchus, spoken of in the scholia to Arist., *Birds* 1403, mentioned there in connection with Aristotle, must be number 2 of Suidas.

⁴⁸ On the testimony of Suidas in his Lexicon, under the head of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, we know that Dionysius was born under the Emperor Hadrian, and that he wrote, besides the books on music (*Musica Historia*), twenty-four books on ρυθμικὰ ὑπομνήματα. Suidas, *Life of Dionysius of Hal.*, p. 299.

Διονύσιος Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, γεγωνὼς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, σοφιστῆς

In this *Musica Historia*, he classifies the varieties of music and gives also instructions for obtaining a thorough musical education. There is, of course, no absolute certainty as to whom to assign these sections of the *Vita*, since we have none of the works of either Rufus or Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Even our knowledge of their works and their general characteristics is scant. Knowledge, too, concerning the *Musica Historia* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and his other writings is meager; it would seem, nevertheless, to be the most probable solution, nay, most plausible, to assign this work to Dionysius of Halicarnassus; but if not to him, then following the prevalent opinion to Rufus. If we assign it to Rufus, then this most interesting passage is an excerpt from the first, second, or third book of his ἡ μουσικὴ ἱστορία or from an epitome of this work.⁴⁹

RUFUS

Rufus is said to have written a work entitled either ἱστορία δραματική or ἱστορία μουσική.⁵⁰ Ritter prefers to accept Diony-

καὶ μουσικὸς κληθεὶς διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀσκηθῆναι τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς. ἔγραψε δὲ ρυθμικῶν ὑπομνήματα βιβλία κδ', μουσικῆς ἱστορίας βιβλία λστ, ἐν δὲ τούτοις αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρωδῶν καὶ ποιητῶν παντοίων μέμνηται. μουσικῆς παιδείας ἡ διατριβῶν βιβλία κβ' τίνα μουσικῶς εἰρηται ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος πολιτείᾳ βιβλία ε'.

Other works of Dionysius: A dictionary of Attic words 'Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα in five books, dedicated to one Scymnus. See Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod., 152; (περὶ ἀκλιτῶν ρημάτων καὶ ἐγκλινομένων λέξεων) Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1496; μουσικὴ ἱστορία (XXXVI Libri); ρυθμικὰ ὑπομνήματα (XXIV Libri); μουσικῆς παιδεία ἡ διατριβή (XXIII Lib.); a whole work in five books on Plato's *Republic*.

⁴⁹ This is on the evidence of Sopater Sophista, who made use of this work in the fourth and fifth books of his *Eclogae*. See Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 103, col. II, ll. 16-34. (ed. Bekker).

⁵⁰ Photius, *Bibliotheca* (ed. Bekker), p. 103.

ὁ δὲ πέμπτος συγκρίεται αὐτῷ ἔκ τε τῆς Πούφου μουσικῆς ἱστορίας πρώτου καὶ τρίτου βιβλίου, ἐν ᾧ τραγικῶν τε καὶ κωμικῶν ποιικίλην ἱστορίαν εὐρήσεις, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἄλλα καὶ διθυραμβοποιῶν τε καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ κιθαρωδῶν, κ. τ. λ.

His sixth treatise is also gathered together from Bks. IV and V of the same *Musica Historia* of Rufus. See Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 103, l. 36 ff.

sus of Halicarnassus⁵¹ as the author rather than Rufus, inasmuch as Rufus's work was, in all probability, not nearly so well known as that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. "There is," he says, "an anonymous codex Parisiensis, which shows such a criticism of comedy taken from Dionysius, and from other sources, too; and that these criticisms, even though of another character, are not dissimilar to the statements that our scribe has written under the head of ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας."

It appears from the *Vita Sophoclis*⁵² which is similarly constructed and ends with a similar criticism of dramatic art, that Susemihl⁵³ hesitates to agree with Schoell, who wishes to prove that the *Musica Historia* of the *Vita Aeschyli* (sections 17-18, in Ritschl) is taken from the *Musica Historia* of Dionysius Minor of Halicarnassus.

The conclusion to be drawn from what few facts we have at our disposal in regard to the authorship of this piece of literary criticism attached to the *Vita Aeschyli*, entitled ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας, must necessarily be ever uncertain. The material offered us by commentators throughout the study of the classics is meager on this point. In addition, a knowledge even of the works from which this treatise could have been taken, or of the epitomes of such works, is scanty. I should prefer to decide in favor of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and not in favor of Rufus. Yet why not Rufus? We have no clue from the manuscripts, and we can not even be certain of the authorship of the preceding sections of the *Vita*, although most critics have agreed that it was indubitably Didymus's. At all events the *Vita* is scarcely in the form in which Didymus wrote it.

WILBUR HIGH ROYSTER.

⁵¹ The preceding sections of the *Vita Aeschyli* (sections 13-16, Ritschl *Aeschyli Septem adversus Thebas*. Leipzig, 1875.), Schneidewin and Trendelenburg rightly attribute to Aristophanes of Byzantium; but Susemihl, taking ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας as "subscriptio" and not as "inscriptio", does not see how the ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας could also be attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium.

⁵² The ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς ἱστορίας of the Sophocles' *Vita* is found in Westermann's *Vitae*, sections, 88-108.

⁵³ Susemihl F., *De Vita Aeschyli Quaestiones Epicriticae*, pp. 13-16.

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